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The Printing of
Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida*
in the First Folio

By W. W. GREG

THE acute observation and reasoning of three scholars whose names are associated with the Folger Library have placed Shakespearian bibliographers in possession of the facts concerning the printing of *Troilus and Cressida* in the First Folio of 1623.¹ We know that the play was originally intended to follow *Romeo and Juliet* and to occupy pages 78 and following in the section of Tragedies, for several copies of the Folio survive containing the cancelled leaf (sig. gg3) bearing on the recto the last page of *Romeo* and on the verso the first page of the text of *Troilus*.²

What happened was this. The compositor ended *Romeo* on the recto of gg3 and at once began to set up the text of *Troilus* on the verso, continuing the composition of this play on gg4 with pages

¹ J. Q. Adams, "*Timon of Athens* and the Irregularities of the First Folio," in: *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, VII: 53-63 (Jan. 1908); E. E. Willoughby, *The Printing of the First Folio of Shakespeare* (London, The Bibliographical Society, 1932), pp. 46-50; G. E. Dawson, "A Bibliographical Problem in the First Folio of Shakespeare," in: *The Library*, XXII: 25-33 (June, 1941).

² Notably the Burdett-Coutts copy now in the Folger Library and the Toovey copy in the Pierpont Morgan Library. Three others are in the Folger collection.

79 and 80. As soon as the four formes of gg3-4 were ready they were printed off as the inner sheet of a normal gathering of three: this was the regular procedure. But at this point something happened that made it impossible, or undesirable, to proceed immediately with the composition of *Troilus*. No doubt it was hoped that the impediment would soon be removed, for a calculation was made of the space needed to complete the play, and printing was continued with *Julius Caesar* on kk1. This left the printer with gg1 and gg2, containing four pages of *Romeo* on his hands, pages which but for the interruption would have been imposed along with those of gg6 and gg5 of *Troilus*. Rather than keep the type of these four pages standing, it was decided to print them off on a single sheet which could stand as a quire gg² by itself.³

When the hope of resuming work on *Troilus* was disappointed, it was decided to substitute *Timon*. The last page of *Romeo*, originally printed on gg3 was reset on the recto of the first leaf, signed "Gg", of a new quire, and *Timon* was begun on the verso of the same. But *Timon* is a shorter play than *Troilus* and it failed to fill the allotted space, so that there is a gap in the signatures and pagination between it and *Julius Caesar*. All hope of including *Troilus* having been abandoned, the colophon was duly printed at the end of *Cymbeline* (which had somehow strayed among the Tragedies) and in the preliminaries the title of *Troilus* was omitted from the catalogue of contents. Then, just as the volume was ready for publication, *Troilus* at last became available. The

³ I do not understand the reason for Dawson's statement (p. 33) that "While the inner sheet [gg3-4] was passing through the press the composition of pages 81-4 of *Troilus* had probably been completed." His discovery that gg1-2 were printed as a separate sheet proves that when the order came to stay composition the machining of the sheet gg3-4 had already been at least begun, for otherwise the eight pages of gg1-4 would have been printed as a short gathering of two sheets (as Willoughby supposed); but it surely also proves that the composition of gg5-6 (pages 81-4) had *not* been completed, for in that case they too would have been printed off as a separate sheet (indeed, had the order to stay composition been delayed till that of gg5-6 was complete, there would have been no reason why a normal gathering of three sheets should not have been printed). That composition continued while gg3-4 were on the press is probable, but the order to stay was presumably received soon after machining had begun and when little progress had been made with composition, since the type was distributed again.

last page of *Romeo* and the first three of *Troilus* had, it will be remembered, been already printed off on the original gg3-4. The first of these leaves had of course to be scrapped: a fresh leaf (unsigned) was substituted, bearing on the recto a hitherto unprinted Prologue to *Troilus* and on the verso a close reprint of the first page.⁴ The second leaf was retained with its original pagination 79-80 (being the fourth leaf of the projected quire, it bore no signature). Then the play was completed, with a series of arbitrary signatures but without pagination, and the whole inserted in the only possible place, namely at the head of the section of Tragedies to which it had originally been assigned.

All this is now established fact to the Shakespearian bibliographer. The cause of the trouble is admittedly a more speculative matter, but it has been plausibly referred to a dispute over the copyright. On 28 January, 1609, two young stationers, Richard Bonian and Henry Walley, had entered the play at Stationers' Hall, and this entrance they followed up the same year with an edition, in a rather flamboyant preface to which they went out of their way to proclaim that they were printing the play against the wishes of "the grand possessors", by which they can have meant none other than his Majesty's players. We do not know how they came by their copy of the play, which was certainly a sound one in the main, but they clearly regarded it as something of a "scoop." What more likely than that fourteen years later, when the same company wished to include the play in their collection of the author's works, Walley, the surviving member of the partnership, should stand upon his rights and refuse them permission to make free with his "copy," or that the Court of the Stationers' Company, had the dispute come before them, would have upheld his action? It is, therefore, quite reasonable to assume that this was the cause of the withdrawal of *Troilus* from

⁴ There are some 65 differences of one sort and another, but only three that can be called variant readings. In I. i. 25 "the heating the Ouen" was altered to "the heating of the Ouen"; in I. 74 "and she were Kinne to me" was corrected to "and she were not kin to me"; and in I. 79 the prefix "*Pan.*" was misprinted "*Troy.*". All references in this article are to the Cambridge Shakespeare, 1892.

its original position in the First Folio. Bibliographers, however, have further assumed that the eventual inclusion of the piece was due to a last-moment relenting on Walley's part; and it is here that fresh evidence has come to light, which enables us, I think, to put a different construction on the facts.

The truth is that Walley's position was not quite as certain as has been assumed or as he himself perhaps believed. For when he and his colleague registered the play an earlier entrance already stood in the Hall Book. Six years before, on 7 February, 1603, James Roberts had caused the following memorandum to be made: "Entred for his copie in Full Court holden this day. to print when he hath gotten sufficient authority for yt. The booke of Troilus and Cresseda as yt is acted by my lo: Chamberlens Men". The Chamberlain's company was, of course, the predecessor of the King's, and the entrance was most likely made with their authority, since the mention of "The booke" suggests, if it does not actually imply, that it was the prompt-book itself that was submitted to the Clerk for registration. By 1623 Roberts, it is true, was dead, but he had, about 1608, sold his business to William Jaggard, so that the publisher of the First Folio had acquired a claim to his copies. Jaggard could have argued that Walley's edition of *Troilus* itself infringed rights he had acquired from Roberts and that the joint entrance of 1609 ought indeed never to have been allowed; and had he chosen to take his case to the Court of Assistants, it is at least possible that they would have revoked Walley's rights in the copy. But this would not, in fact, have helped Jaggard and the King's men, for though it would have prevented Walley from reprinting the play (which he probably had no intention of doing) there is no reason to suppose that it would have allowed Jaggard to appropriate Walley's text.

This limitation may be inferred from two cases that had come before the Court a generation earlier. It appears that early, probably, in 1592 Abel Jeffes printed what seems to have been a gar-

bled edition of *The Spanish Tragedy* (now lost) and he entered it on 6 October, perhaps on learning that Edward White was about to replace it by the extant edition, which contains an excellent text "Newly corrected and amended of such grosse faults as passed in the first impression." On 18 December Jeffes protested to the Court, which upheld his copyright and fined White ten shillings. In 1594 Jeffes reprinted White's text, but in order to do so he evidently had to come to terms with his opponent and allow him an interest in the new edition, for this bears the legend "Printed by Abell Ieffes, and are to be sold by Edward White."⁵ It was also in 1592 that Thomas Orwin printed an edition of *The Damnable Life and Deserved Death of Doctor Faustus*, "newly imprinted, and in conuenient places imperfect matter amended", to replace a lost and presumably defective edition, to which again Abel Jeffes laid claim. Jeffes's complaint was heard by the Court the same day as the other, and judgment again went in his favour, though in this case no entrance had been made by either claimant. On this occasion Jeffes made no attempt to reprint the book, but when on 5 April 1596 it was at length entered in the Register, "havinge thinterest of abell Ieffes thereto", it was once more by Edward White, who had acted as bookseller for Orwin's edition four years previously, and who doubtless bargained for the rights of both parties.⁶

We may assume, therefore, that while Jaggard might have been able to substantiate a claim to the "copy" of *Troilus*, he would still have had no right to reproduce Walley's text, but would have had to print it, if at all, from some other source, that is, from a manuscript. It is at this point that the new evidence comes in. In the course of a recent article on "The Textual Problem of *Troilus and Cressida*"⁷ Dr. Alice Walker remarks that "had

⁵ See *The Spanish Tragedy* (1592), Malone Society Reprint, 1948, introduction, pp. vi-xiii.

⁶ See Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus* (parallel texts), (Oxford, 1950), Introduction, pp. 1-4.

⁷ *The Modern Language Review*, XLV: 459-64 (October, 1950).

the original intention of printing the play immediately after *Romeo and Juliet* been adhered to, we should have had in the Folio text a mere reprint of the Quarto," whereas it is well known that for the bulk of the text recourse was had to a manuscript. What she had observed, and was so far as I am aware the first to point out, was that in the three pages originally set up (pp. 78-80) the variants between the Quarto and Folio texts are such as any compositor may be expected to produce when reprinting another text,⁸ while as soon as we reach the first page set up for the first time after the interruption (that is, the recto of sig. ¶¶ I) variants appear that can only be accounted for by the use of some independent source, and that these persist throughout the rest of the play.

Miss Walker gave (on pp. 463-4) a list of readings from the three pages originally printed and from the following three set up after the interruption, sufficient, she thought, to establish her contention. Probably they are, but since the question has now assumed an importance greater than she at the moment realized, it may be desirable to print here a more extended collation.⁹ Here first are the readings of pages 78-80.¹⁰

QUARTO

FOLIO

Page [78]

I.i 15 must tarry

must ‡needes tarrie

26 yea may chance burne

*you may chaunce ‡to burne

44 I would not as they tearme it
praise her,

I would not (as they terme it)
praise †it,

⁸ The only variant not immediately referable to the compositor is the insertion of an entrance at I. ii. 35, but this is obviously called for by the text.

⁹ Since we have already seen that the differences between the original setting of page 78 and the reprint are insignificant, I take no notice of the latter.

¹⁰ In the list of Folio readings a * marks the correction of obvious errors, a † errors committed by the compositor, and ‡ variants that do not evidently fall into either class. The Folio compositor, beginning work on a play in the section of Tragedies, naturally altered the "history" of the Quarto head-title to "TRAGEDIE" and he made a like change in the running title. After the interruption he adopted the simple and, as Miss Walker calls it, non-committal head-line "*Troylus and Cressida*." This, she suggests (p. 462), was due to the anomalous position of the play between the Histories and Tragedies. But the play was always regarded as belonging to the latter.

70 ill thought on of her, and ill thought of you,	ill thought on of her, and ill thought *on of you:
75 as faire a Friday as <i>Hellen</i> , is on Sunday,	as faire ‡on Friday, as <i>Helen</i> is on Sunday.
76 but what I? I care not	But what *care I? I care not
87s.D. <i>Exit</i> .	<i>Exit</i> ‡ <i>Panda</i> .
Page 79	
100 reides	*recides (<i>for</i> resides)
ii.6 Hee chid	He †chides
17 vnlesse the are dronke,	vnlesse *they are dronke,
29 purblinde <i>Argus</i> ,	‡purblinded <i>Argus</i> ,
33 the disdaine and shame	the †disdained & shame
35s.D. [absent]	* <i>Enter Pandarus</i> .
43 Illum?	*Illium?
67 nor <i>Hector</i> is not <i>Troylus</i>	†not <i>Hector</i> is not <i>Troylus</i>
97 praizd	†prasi'd
Page 80	
112 Is he so yong a man,	Is he †is so young a man,
118 valiantly.	*valiantly.
120 clowd	†clow'd (<i>i.e.</i> cloud)
140-1 But there was a more temper- ate fire vnder the por	But there was ‡ more temperate fire vnder the *pot
166 So I does.	So I †does.
172 Ilion,	‡Illium,
184 hee's man good enough,	hee's ‡a man good inough,
185 hees one o'th soundest iudge- ments in Troy	hee's one o'th soundest ‡iudge- ment in Troy
187 see him nod at mee.	see him †him nod at me.
195 O a braue man.	O † braue man!
196 it dooes a man heart good,	It dooes a *mans heart good,
198-9 thers no iesting, thers laying on, takt off, who will as they say,	There's no iesting, † laying on, tak't off, who †ill as they say,
209 you shall see <i>Troylus</i> anon.	you shall † <i>Troylus</i> anon.
216 doe you not here the people	do you not †haere the people
219s.D. <i>Troylus</i> .	† <i>Trylus</i> .
223 Marke him, note him:	Marke him, †not him:

Variants of this sort persist throughout the play. But as soon as we reach the first of the pages set up for the first time after the interruption, variants of a different type begin to appear. The following is a fairly exhaustive list of variants of the new type found in the next three pages (pages [81-3]). Opinion will nat-

urally differ respecting what is significant and what is not, and I do not pretend that all the Folio variants in the list necessarily imply resort to a source independent of the Quarto.¹¹ But even the less significant reinforce the evidence of the more striking and conclusive.¹²

QUARTO	FOLIO
Page [81]	
I.ii.231 <i>Hellen</i> to change would giue an eye to boote.	<i>Helen</i> to change, would giue mon-ey to boot.
232s.D. [absent]	<i>Enter common Souldiers.</i>
246 liberallity and such like ,	liberality, and so forth :
250 You are such a woman a man knowes not at what ward you lie:	You are such another woman, one knowes not at what ward you lye.
266 At your owne house there he vn-arms him :	At your owne house.
273s.D. [absent]	<i>Exit Pand.</i>
286 Then though my hearts content	That though my hearts Contents
iii.2 hath set these laundies ore your cheekes?	hath set the laundies on your cheekes?
19 And call them shames	And thinke them shame ,
27 with a broad and powerfull fan,	with a lowd and powrefull fan,
36 Vpon her ancient brest,	Vpon her patient brest,
Page [82]	
67 (On which heauen rides) knit all the Greekish eares	In which the Heauens ride, knit all Greekes ears
70-4 [absent]	[a five-line speech]
92 Corrects the influence of euill Planets ,	Corrects the ill Aspects of Planets euill ,
102 Which is the ladder of all high designes,	(Which is the Ladder to all high designes)
110 each thing melts In meere op-pugnancie:	each thing meetes In meere op-pugnancie.

¹¹ For example, the added entry at I. iii. 215 can be inferred from the text just as easily as that at I. ii. 35 (but the accompanying "*Tucket*" cannot): the omission at I. ii. 266 may be accidental (but why should Troilus go to Pandarus' house to un-arm?): at I. iii. 219 the correction is obvious and may be conjectural: the variant at I. iii. 228 may be a mere misprint: the omission at I. iii. 238 would probably have been made irrespective of authority: and so on.

¹² In the list relevant differences in the readings are indicated by heavy type.

- 128 by a pace goes backward **with** a purpose | It hath to clime.
 137 Troy in our weaknesse **stands** not in her strength.
 149 with ridiculous and **sillie** action,
 159 with termes **vnsquare**,
 164 'tis *Agamemnon* **right**,
 Page [83]
 212s.D. [absent]
 215s.D. [absent]
 219 Do a faire message to his Kingly **eyes?**
 228 And **bid** the cheeke be ready with a blush,
 238 Good armes, strong ioints, true **sword**, & great *Ioues* accord
 250 to whisper **with** him,
 252 To set his **seat** on **that** attentiuē bent,
 259s.D. *Sound trumpet.*
 262-3 Who in **his** dull and long continued truce, | Is **restie** growne:
 267 **And feeds** his praise, more then he feares his perill,
 276 a Lady, wiser, fairer, truer, | Then euer Greeke did **couple** in his armes,
 289-90 If then one is, or hath a meanes to be, | That one meetes *Hector*: if none else **I am** he.
 293-4 if there be not in our Grecian **hoste**, | A noble man that hath no sparke of fire
 297-8 in my **vambrace** put my withered **braunes** | And meeting him tell him that my Lady,
 301 Ile **proue** this troth with my three drops of blood,
 302 heauens **for-fend** such scarcity of men.
 303-4 *Vlys.* Amen: faire Lord *Æneas*
 by a pace goes backward **in** a purpose | It hath to climbe.
 Troy in our weaknesse **liues**, not in her strength.
 with ridiculous and **aukward** action,
 With tearmes **vnsquar'd**,
 'tis *Agamemnon* **iust**.
Tucket
Enter Æneas.
 Do a faire message to his Kingly **cares?**
 And **on** the cheeke be ready with a blush
 Good armes, strong ioynts, true **swords**, & *Ioues* accord,
 to whisper him,
 To set his **sence** on **the** attentiuē bent,
The Trumpets sound.
 Who in **this** dull and long-continued Truce | Is **rusty** growne.
That seekes his praise, more then he feares his perill,
 a Lady, wiser, fairer, truer, | Then euer Greeke did **compasse** in his armes,
 If then one is, or hath, **or** meanes to be, | That one meets *Hector*; if none else, **Ile be** he.
 if there be not in our Grecian **mould**, | **One** Noble man, that hath **one** spark of fire
 in my **Vantbrace** put **this** wither'd **brawne**, | And meeting him, **wil** tell him, that my Lady
 Ile **pawne** this truth with my three drops of blood.
 heauens **forbid** such scarcitie of **youth**.
Vlys. Amen. | *Aga.* Faire Lord *Æneas*,

- | | | |
|---------|--|--|
| 305 | To our pauillion shall I leade you
sir; | To our Pauillion shal I leade you
first: |
| 309s.D. | [absent] | <i>Exeunt.</i> <i>Manet Vlysses, and Nestor.</i> |
| 314-6 | <i>Nest.</i> What ist? <i>Vlis:</i> Blunt
wedges riue hard knots, | <i>Nest.</i> What is't? <i>Vlysses.</i> This 'tis:
 Blunt wedges riue hard knots: |

There is, I think, no escaping the conclusion that when work was resumed on *Troilus* a manuscript of the play was available that had not been available, or at any rate was not used, when the first three pages of the text were set up. Incidentally it supplied the Prologue originally wanting.¹³ But we earlier saw reason to believe that when the printing of the play was interrupted, Walley's intransigence presented an insuperable obstacle only because his was the one text available to print from; and I suggest that when at the last moment a manuscript turned up (whence we can hardly, in the present state of our knowledge, conjecture) Jaggard felt in a position to snap his fingers in Walley's face. It is immaterial that in fact he printed the play, not from the manuscript, but from the Quarto altered in accordance with it, for if challenged he could produce the manuscript, draw attention to the numerous differences between the texts and the presence in his own of some forty or fifty lines missing in Walley's, and point triumphantly to the Prologue displayed in large type upon the first page. His case was complete, and in fact it was not till a few months ago that the patience and ingenuity of an American professor finally settled the vexed question of the actual copy used.¹⁴

¹³ The manuscript must, of course, have been available when the first page of text was reprinted, and it may be asked why the reprint shows no evidence of this fact. The answer is that since the original leaf bearing pages 79 and 80 was to be used, the reprint of page 78 had to end at the same point as the original, and this would have been difficult if not impossible to achieve unless that original had been used as copy.

¹⁴ Philip Williams, "Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida*: The Relationship of Quarto and Folio," in: *Studies in Bibliography*, III: 131-143 (1950).

The American Interests of the Firm of E. and C. Dilly, with their Letters to Benjamin Rush, 1770-1795

By L. H. BUTTERFIELD*

IN Philadelphia on 15 May 1776, John Adams rose in his seat in Congress and moved "That it be recommended to the respective Assemblies and Conventions of the United Colonies, where no government sufficient to the exigencies of their affairs hath been hitherto established, to adopt such government as shall, in the opinion of the representatives of the people, best conduce to the happiness and safety of their constituents in particular, and America in general." Another delegate remarked to Adams that this was "a machine for the fabrication of independence. I said, smiling, I thought it was independence itself, but we must have it with more formality yet."¹

The formalities were being taken care of in Williamsburg, where, on this very day, the Virginia Convention "Resolved unanimously, that the delegates appointed to represent this colony in General Congress be instructed to propose to that respectable body to declare the United Colonies free and independent states, absolved from all allegiance to, or dependence upon, the crown or parliament of Great Britain."² This unanimous resolution was promptly brought to Philadelphia; on 7 June a Resolution of Independence was accordingly introduced

* Read at the meeting of the Society in Cambridge, Mass., June 2, 1951.

¹ "Autobiography," *The Works of John Adams*, ed. Charles Francis Adams (Boston, Little, Brown and Company, 1850-1856), III: 46.

² *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, ed. Julian P. Boyd and others (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1950-), I: 290-1.

by Richard Henry Lee of the Virginia delegation, and some three weeks later it was adopted, to be followed on July 4th by an explanatory statement since known as the Declaration of Independence.

Now in London on this same 15th of May occurred an event of a very different sort but not wholly unrelated to those I have mentioned. At their house in The Poultry, the well-known booksellers Edward and Charles Dilly were giving a dinner party. To it had been invited that favorite of the London citizenry and hero of the American patriots, George III's "that devil Wilkes." Also invited was an eminent lexicographer and man of letters, one who had denounced both John Wilkes and the American rebels in pamphlets commissioned by his majesty's ministers, a Tory if there ever was one—Dr. Samuel Johnson. The whole affair, as everyone knows, had been negotiated, or rigged, by a man of versatile taste named James Boswell, who admired both Wilkes and Johnson and wanted to see what would happen when the two confronted each other. He had forewarned Johnson that he might encounter some of Edward Dilly's "patriotick friends" at dinner, but Johnson, who, as Boswell knew, "was sometimes a little actuated by the spirit of contradiction," swept this objection aside, declaring roundly that "it is treating me strangely to talk to me as if I could not meet any company whatever, occasionally." On the fateful evening he was a good deal confounded to find not only John Wilkes among the guests but a veritable American—Arthur Lee of Virginia, brother of that Richard Henry Lee who was to move the Resolution of American Independence. Once Johnson had regained his composure, the flattering attentions of Wilkes quite won him over, and the dinner party was a notable success.³

There was a later dinner at the Dillys' when Johnson's feelings about Americans were less successfully restrained. This was

³ *Boswell's Life of Johnson*, ed. G. B. Hill and L. F. Powell (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1934-1950), III: 65-79.

in April 1778, soon after a treaty of alliance and friendship had been signed by France and the United States, and war between France and England had begun. The topic of conversation being Christian benevolence, Johnson startled the company by declaring "I am willing to love all mankind, *except* an American;" and," as Boswell relates, "his inflammable corruption bursting into horrid fire, he 'breathed out threatenings and slaughter;' calling them, 'Rascals—Robbers—Pirates;' and exclaiming, he'd 'burn and destroy them.' Miss [Anna] Seward, looking to him with mild but steady astonishment, said, 'Sir, this is an instance that we are always most violent against those whom we have injured.'—He was irritated still more by this delicate and keen reproach; and roared out another tremendous volley, which one might fancy could be heard across the Atlantick. During this tempest I sat in great uneasiness, lamenting his heat of temper; till, by degrees, I diverted his attention to other topics."⁴

Though Johnson deeply respected Edward Dilly as a bookseller, one surmises that this outburst was largely aimed at him. As long as he lived, Edward Dilly (1732-1779) was an ardent Whig and a staunch friend of Americans and the American cause. His combined shop and house in The Poultry, "Near the Mansion House," was a gathering place for leaders of the radical City of London government that had more than once bidden defiance to his majesty's government and had even dared to talk back to the throne itself. Edward and his partner Charles (1739-1807), also a bachelor, had the agreeable habit of stuffing rather than starving authors. Evidently they found that hospitality was good business as well as congenial to their taste. They invited to their table not only authors but authors' friends, "patrons and pursuers of literature," as Richard Cumberland says⁵—in brief, all kinds of people who read and talked about books. Their generosity to the authors they published became legendary and is

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 290.

⁵ Richard Cumberland, *Memoirs* (London, 1806), p. 476.

amply illustrated by Boswell's long and happy relationship with them.⁶ The Dillys began publishing Boswell's productions with the *Tour to Corsica* (1768) and ended with the several editions of his masterwork in the 1790's. In the interval they gave him the run of their house, doctored his toothaches, fed him generously, advised him patiently and sensibly, and repeatedly loaned his money. In short, they earned the immortality their association with James Boswell has given them.

Contemporaries describe Edward as short and voluble. "One of the greatest talkers I ever met with," Betty Fothergill said of him after visiting the Dillys' house to view a portrait of the Corsican General Paoli in 1770; "tongue, hands, and head all moving at a time with so much rapidity that I wonder how his lungs sustain it. Politics is his constant theme, and he will force ones attention whether one will give it or not. In his hurry he forgets to speak plainly, so that one can only hear a confused chattering. Nor would one know what the subject of it was but for now and then hearing the words ministry, bribery, tyranny etc. etc." Charles was more restrained in both his manners and his politics. "A modest genteel behaved man," Miss Fothergill reported, "and I suppose is now so much inured to hear his brother talk, that he scarce thinks of speaking himself."⁷

Among the conspicuously "patriotick" figures one might meet at the Dillys' besides John Wilkes himself were two of Wilkes' leading supporters, Alderman (later Lord Mayor) John Sawbridge, and John Horne Tooke, the parson and agitator who was imprisoned for circulating a subscription in behalf of "our beloved American fellow subjects . . . inhumanly murdered by

⁶ See under the Dillys' names in Frederick A. Pottle and others, *Index to the Private Papers of James Boswell from Malahide Castle* (London and New York, Oxford University Press, 1937).

⁷ Quoted in James J. Abraham, *Lettsom: His Life, Times, Friends and Descendants* (London, Heinemann, 1933), p. 94. John Nichols says of Charles: "He was a man of great pleasantry of manners, and so fond of conversation, that he almost literally talked himself to death." *Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1812-1815), III: 191.

the king's troops" in April 1775.⁸ Another was Henry Sampson Woodfall, the redoubtable publisher of the letters of Junius. A special favorite was the republican bluestocking Catharine Sawbridge Macaulay, whose *History of England, from the Accession of James I to that of the Brunswick Line*, published by the Dillys in eight quarto volumes from 1763 to 1783, served briefly as a Whig Bible and stunned a good many Englishmen and Americans with admiration for the author's somewhat limited talents.⁹ After meeting her at the Dillys' in 1769, young Dr. Benjamin Rush of Philadelphia reported that Mrs. Macaulay planned to desert corrupt and decadent old England and spend her later days on the banks of the Ohio.¹⁰ After the Revolution she actually did make a progress through the eastern states from Boston to Mount Vernon, and she kept up a brisk and extensive American correspondence until her death in 1791. Though she was a plain woman and given to overdressing and heavy makeup, Edward Dilly is said to have admired her personal charms as well as the anti-monarchical slant of her *History*. A typical scene in the Dilly home in 1770 is described by Thomas Coombe, a young Philadelphian who had come to London to enter holy orders. (Coombe was not a "patriot" in the sense then current; he returned to England during the Revolution and stayed on.) In a letter to Benjamin Rush, who was a relative, Coombe related:

I dined the Day before yesterday with Mrs. Macaulay at Dilly's when she was so polite as to favor me with the Sight of a Pamphlet on the Discontents of the Nation, which she is now about publishing. [Brought out by E. And C. Dilly, this was a criticism of Burke's *Present Discontents*, which, though a Whig tract, was far from satisfactory to Whigs of a more radical stripe.] Very well written—

⁸ *Dictionary of National Biography*, s.n. John Horne Tooke.

⁹ There is a recent and very full account of "The Celebrated Mrs. Macaulay," by Lucy Martin Donnelly, in *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d series, VI: 173-207 (1949). Everyone of course knows how Dr. Johnson characteristically "refuted" her republican theories by inviting her footman to sit down at table with her (*Boswell's Life of Johnson*, ed. Hill and Powell, I: 447).

¹⁰ Rush to an unidentified correspondent, 26 Jan. 1769. *Letters of Benjamin Rush*, ed. L. H. Butterfield (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1951), I: 74.

very nervous—very spirited, but my good Sir, if this Lady was yours “to have & to hold,” would you not be apt to recommend the Discontents of a Husband as a fitter Subject for her Meditations than the Politics of a Kingdom? . . . Oh! that you had been present, when she made her Appearance in the Room!—You are no Stranger to the Elasticity of Dilly’s Tongue, which on this Occasion exceeded every Thing like Moderation.—“Madam, says he, this Gentleman is ———” & so proceeded, “ore rotundo.” The Thing was quite a surprise to me. We were chattering around the Fire, & I had no more Idea that Mrs. Macaulay was to favor us with her Presence, than I had of seeing a Ghost. Accordingly, after we were comfortably seated again, Dilly whispers me in the Ear, “I did this on Purpose, for I know your Cousin. A t’other-Side-of-the-Question-Man, would not have dined with a Revolutioner.”¹¹

Another whom you might have met at the Dillys’ house or shop was Thomas Hollis of Lincoln’s Inn, “a bigotted Whig or Republican . . . who mis-spent an ample fortune in paving the way for sedition and revolt in this and the neighboring kingdoms, by dispensing democratical works; and sometimes highly ornamented with daggers, caps of liberty etc.”¹² Hollis, as Harvard happily knows, was even more remarkable as a book disseminator than as a book collector. Describing himself as “an assertor of Liberty at all times,” he subsidized the publication (by the Dillys and others) of anti-ministerial tracts to be distributed in America, and he paid for the reprinting of American propaganda for distribution in England.¹³ By Dr. Johnson and other Tories “this Hollis” was plausibly accused of having “laid

¹¹ Coombe to Rush, 5 May 1770 (Library Company of Philadelphia, Rush MSS, XXXIII).

¹² The Rev. Baptist-Noel Turner, reporting a conversation with Dr. Johnson, quoted in Caroline Robbins, “The Strenuous Whig, Thomas Hollis of Lincoln’s Inn,” *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., VII: 407 (1950). See further, Miss Robbins’ admirable account of Hollis’ benefactions to the Harvard College Library: “Library of Liberty—Assembled for Harvard College by Thomas Hollis of Lincoln’s Inn,” in: *Harvard Library Bulletin*, V: 5-23, 181-196 (1951).

¹³ An example of the former is *A Critical Commentary on Archbishop Secker’s Letter to the Right Honourable Horatio Walpole concerning Bishops in America* (London, Dilly, 1770), of which Hollis took fifty copies before publication to send to America. *Memoirs of Thomas Hollis, Esq.* (London, 1780), I: 423. An example of the latter is his paying for the reprinting by the Dillys and John Almon, with added matter, of the Town of Boston’s own *Narrative of the Horrid Massacre in Boston Perpetrated on the fifth Day of March, 1770* (*ibid.*, pp. 436-7).

the first train of combustibles for the American explosion.”¹⁴

The Dillys had numerous other “patriotick” and pro-American friends. They were in touch with the circle of intellectuals whom Lord Shelburne patronized, notably the Vaughan family and the Unitarian clergymen Richard Price and Joseph Priestley. The Quaker physician and philanthropist John Coakley Lettsom, a West Indian who had many American connections, was a particular intimate of Charles Dilly’s; he is handsomely eulogized in Boswell’s “Ode to Mr. Charles Dilly.”¹⁵

As for Americans, there was a steady stream of them at the Dillys’ table or consulting with them in their shop. Chief among them was Benjamin Franklin, press-agent-in-chief for America in England in the decade prior to the Revolution. Professor Verner Crane has pointed out in a notable recent study that much of Franklin’s success as a propagandist was owing to his intimacy with the proprietors and printers of the London newspapers.¹⁶ To the *Public Advertiser* alone, of which Woodfall was printer and Edward Dilly one of the proprietors, Franklin contributed some forty letters on current affairs between 1765 and 1775.¹⁷ He also served as a consultant to the Dilly firm in the field of science, and on one occasion recommended for publication a work—James Adair’s *History of the American Indians* (1775)—that still holds its place as an important specimen of Americana.¹⁸

¹⁴ Turner, as quoted by Miss Robbins in the article cited in note 12 above.

¹⁵ In: *The Gentleman’s Magazine*, LXI: pt. 1, p. 367 (1791).

¹⁶ *Benjamin Franklin’s Letters to the Press, 1758-1775*, ed. Verner W. Crane (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1950), p. xxii.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. xvi. Edward Dilly stated that he was one of the proprietors of the *Public Advertiser* in a letter to Boswell, 13 Oct. 1767. Claude Collier Abbott, ed., *A Catalogue of Papers . . . Found at Fettercairn House* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1936), p. 44.

¹⁸ See Franklin to Benjamin Rush, 22 July 1774, *Writings*, ed. A. H. Smyth (N. Y., Macmillan, 1907), VI: 235; also C. Dilly to Rush, 13 July 1774, printed below. Franklin introduced Adair to the Dillys in an unpublished letter dated 25 March 1774 now in the Yale University Library Franklin Collection: “I have recommended you to him,” Franklin wrote, “as honourable Dealers, & who can afford, from your extensive connections of Business, to give him as much for it [Adair’s MS on the Indians] as any of the Trade.”

Arthur Lee, the young Virginia physician and lawyer, we have already seen at the party for Wilkes and Johnson in 1776. Lee had come to London in 1768 for the special purpose of defending American rights by his pen, and he was a vigorous and successful publicist. Arthur's older brother William was another member of the Dillys' "patriotick" circle; though he was ostensibly in business as a tobacco importer, his energies were chiefly devoted to City—that is to say anti-ministerial—politics. He served as a sheriff of London in 1773 and was elected, remarkably enough, to a life appointment as alderman of Aldgate in May 1775.¹⁹

Young Benjamin Rush, fresh from the medical school at Edinburgh, made the Dillys' establishment, which he called "a kind of Coffee house for authors,"²⁰ his headquarters in London in the winter of 1768-1769. The bachelor brothers evidently encouraged traveling Americans to use the shop in The Poultry as a mailing address, and in later years Rush commended a dozen more of his students to their hospitable care. If there were social benefits in this for the Americans, there were commercial benefits for the firm, which had a large exporting business and which was always on the lookout for promising American authors.

Americans soliciting funds for charitable and educational undertakings were certain to call on the Dillys and to be warmly received. The Rev. Dr. John Ewing, one of a delegation sent to England just before the Revolution to raise funds for a Presbyterian academy at Newark, Delaware, afterwards described a dinner party in The Poultry at which Dr. Johnson had been present. Ewing's defense of the colonists' political conduct drew

¹⁹ On Arthur Lee, see Richard Henry Lee, *Life of Arthur Lee, LL.D. . . . With His Political and Literary Correspondence* (Boston, 1829). On William Lee, see *Letters of William Lee . . . , 1766-1783*, ed. W. C. Ford (Brooklyn, 1891), especially I: 6-43.

²⁰ Rush, *Autobiography*, ed. George W. Corner (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1948), p. 62-3.

the Doctor's fire. "What do you know, Sir, on that subject?" asked Johnson. Ewing mentioned his lifelong residence in America. "The epithets of *rebels* and *scoundrels* were pretty liberally applied to the population of the Colonies. At length Johnson rudely said, 'Sir, what do you know in America. You never read. You have no books there.' 'Pardon me, Sir,' replied Dr. Ewing, 'we have read the *Rambler*.' This civility instantly pacified him," and the rest of the evening went off amiably.²¹ In May 1784, the Rev. Dr. John Witherspoon was in London to collect funds in support of the College of New Jersey (now Princeton University). The Dilly firm had published some of Witherspoon's writings, and as a matter of course he was invited to dinner by Charles Dilly. Boswell was present; another guest was General Oglethorpe, the founder of Georgia.²² Dr. Johnson was very prudently not invited. One shudders to think what might have passed between the great exponent of Toryism and a Presbyterian clergyman who had been a Scotsman, was now an American, and who had voted for and signed the Declaration of Independence.

Though far from complete, this list of the Dillys' American friends must end with the mention of Josiah Quincy, Jr., who won the Dilly brothers' affection and confidence with the same readiness that he did so many others' during his brief life. Quincy's errand in London in 1774-1775 was to present the Americans' case to the political leaders of all parties in the hope of staving off open war. He did not succeed, but he made heroic efforts, which are recorded in a fascinating journal.²³ The jour-

²¹ Memoir of Ewing in William B. Sprague, *Annals of the American Pulpit* (N. Y., 1859-1869), III: 218.

²² Diary of the Rev. Thomas Gibbons (a dissenting divine who was intimate with the Dillys and a correspondent of many American clergymen), as quoted in *Boswell's Life of Johnson*, ed. Hill and Powell, IV: 494. See also Charles Dilly to Rush, 1 May 1784, printed below.

²³ First printed in Josiah Quincy, *Memoir of the Life of Josiah Quincy, Junior*, . . . 1744-1775 (Boston, 1825), and subsequent editions; more completely and accurately printed, with additional correspondence relative to the mission of 1774-1775, in Massachusetts Historical Society, *Proceedings*, L: 433-496 (1917).

nal shows that the brothers Dilly were among the first to present their respects to Quincy after his arrival in London, and it contains numerous entries of this kind: "Dined with the Dilleys and a few friends of Liberty." Two letters survive that were written by Charles Dilly to Quincy just as the latter was taking ship at Deal for Boston. The first enclosed some recent newspapers and a copy of "a Pamphlet published this Day; written by the Court Pensioner Dr. Sam'l Johnson, against the Votes of the American Congress."²⁴ (This was *Taxation No Tyranny*.) The second letter is more remarkable, for it reveals a divergence at this important moment in the political views of the Dilly brothers.

I hinted to you, my dear Sir [wrote Charles], the Day I last had the pleasure of being in your Company, that a friendly hint or caution from you would be taken in good part by my Brother Edward, who has got into such extravagant wild notions in Politics, and stigmatizes the Characters of great men merely postulatory, that to a stranger he must and does appear in a disagreeable point of view. I do think a few lines of admonition respecting his unpleasing conduct and ridiculous self-importance, written in the style of Friendship, might have the desired effect. . . .

Tho' he may be inflexible in folly, yet I hope not so obdurate as to reject advice sincerely meant for his own good. My brother is really a good natured and well disposed man; but he is dreadfully contaminated with false ideas in politics; and could he be diverted from the prattle of Government affairs, he would then return and be the useful man in business, as he has heretofore been. I must beg, Sir, you would not take notice to Brother Ed. what I have requested of you, because that would at once destroy what I wish to have produced—a reformation in him.²⁵

Always the more moderate of the two, Charles felt that nothing was to be gained by the political extremism in which Edward indulged. Charles continued to be as friendly as ever to the Americans, and was always a ready backer of American publications, but—as his letters to Benjamin Rush show—he put business first and politics second.

A survey of the Dillys' list of publications, from the time

²⁴ 9 Mch. 1775 (Mass. Hist. Soc., *Proceedings*, L: 490).

²⁵ 10 Mch. 1775 (*ibid.*, p. 492).

Edward opened the shop about 1755 until Charles retired from it in 1800, reveals that they were among the three or four leading publishers of American and American-related material in England in that half-century.²⁶ For the nearly twenty years that John Almon was in business (1763-1781), he published a good many more titles by Americans and about the American controversy than any other London bookseller. Almon's work was carried on by John Debrett, but with much less evangelism than Almon had displayed for a cause that to him was holy. About the time that Almon retired, John Stockdale (formerly a porter in Almon's shop) came forward as a vigorous backer of books by Americans and on American subjects, and he remained so until at least the close of the century. It is safe to say that no others besides these men and the Dillys were specialists in what was after all, except for the great outpouring of controversial material just before the Revolution, a fairly limited field. The Dilly firm, it is to be noted, was active over a much longer period than any of the others.

The American interests of the firm developed early and very naturally from the fact that the Dillys were staunch dissenters and published many of the books "of the good old School of Presbyterians—Doddridge, Watts, Lardner, &c."²⁷ These writ-

²⁶ This survey has been made much easier—indeed has been made possible—by the researches of Professor Sylvester H. Bingham of the University of New Hampshire, about half of whose Yale doctoral dissertation, "Publishing in the Eighteenth Century with Special Reference to the Firm of Edward and Charles Dilly" (1937), is devoted to a catalogue of the Dillys' publications. This catalogue was principally compiled from *A Catalogue of Books Printed for and Sold by Charles Dilly* (London, 1787) (32 p.; sole recorded copy in British Museum), and from advertisements and reviews in the *London Chronicle*, *London Magazine*, and *Critical Review*. It contains 1311 entries, but even so, as Dr. Bingham was aware, it is not complete, especially for books imported from America for distribution in England. The present writer, who began recording Dilly imprints relating to America many years ago, but in an unsystematic way, has been able to add a number of them to the Bingham catalogue. I am, however, heavily indebted to Dr. Bingham for his prompt and generous consent to let me draw on his findings for this paper.

²⁷ Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes*, III: 190. Edward Dilly inherited shares in these and kindred writers' productions from his predecessor, John Oswald.

ers, and many more like them who formed the solid core of the Dillys' trade list, were enormously popular in the New England and middle colonies. In these heavily Congregational and Presbyterian areas a great reading public had grown up whose demands could by no means be met by local presses. The Dillys in consequence became large exporters of moral and homiletic literature. The nonconformist writers whom they published were friends and correspondents of leading American clergymen, so that the firm soon became importers as well as exporters. And in 1764 Charles Dilly came out to America—probably the first British publisher's representative ever to do so—in order to strengthen the firm's American connections.²⁸

The earliest American titles on the Dilly list were, then, moral and theological works by such writers as the New Light Presbyterians, Joseph Bellamy of Connecticut, and Samuel Davies of New Jersey, and the liberal New England Congregationalists, Charles Chauncy and Jonathan Mayhew.²⁹ Titles by all these men appeared between 1760 and 1766; in 1767 appeared a pair of sermons on the subject of Indian missions by Eleazar Wheelock and Nathaniel Whitaker, the latter being at that time in England on his successful fund-raising mission for Wheelock's Indian school.³⁰ When the Scots clergyman John Witherspoon was preparing to set out for America to assume the presidency of Princeton College (May 1768), the Dillys signalized this

²⁸ Very little is known about this trip except that Charles met Benjamin Rush, then still a medical apprentice in Philadelphia, in the course of it (see Charles Dilly to Rush, 6 Jan. 1795, printed below), and collected some money "on Acct" from Thomas Bradford, a Philadelphia bookseller with whom the Dillys long had business relations (receipt for £12, dated 9 Oct. 1764 and signed by Charles Dilly, in the Bradford Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania).

²⁹ The Dillys also reprinted Jonathan Edwards' *Treatise concerning Religious Affections* (1773) and, after the war, two other important works by Chauncy.

³⁰ See Sabin 103214. The Mohegan Indian Samson Occom accompanied Whitaker on this mission, and his diary under 27 Apr. 1766 mentions calling on [Edward?] Dilly and receiving "a present of books for my own Use." *An Indian Preacher in England*, ed. Leon B. Richardson (Hanover, N. H., Dartmouth College Publications, 1933), p. 101.

event by advertising an edition of his *Sermons on Practical Subjects*; they had earlier published other writings of his and were to re-issue the *Sermons* as late as 1792.³¹

Quite early the firm began to tap another vein of American writing, namely medicine. Medical works were perhaps second only to divinity in importance on the Dillys' trade list. In 1768 they published medical treatises by two young Americans, Thomas Ruston and Lionel Chalmers; and in 1772 they issued the first of a long series of London reprints of Benjamin Rush's writings; this maiden venture appeared under the title *Sermons to the Rich and Studious, on Temperance and Exercise*, and the contents are as diverting as the title. Through Rush and Franklin, the Dillys had good contacts with the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia. In consequence they imported and distributed the first two volumes of the Society's *Transactions*, in 1772 and 1789. These seem to have done very well, for Charles Dilly's letters to Rush and other letters in the Society's archives show that the firm was anxious to maintain and improve relations with this leading American scientific organization.

In the field of general Americana the Dillys' outstanding publication was probably Adair's *History of the Indians* (1775). Hardly less important was Anthony Benezet's *Historical Account of Guinea. . . . With an Inquiry into the Rise and Progress of the Slave Trade*, reprinted in 1772 from the Philadelphia edition of 1771. The reprint did not pay off, as Granville Sharp explained in a letter reporting the Dillys' refusal to reprint one of Rush's tracts against slavery.³² But it is an example of the Dillys' interest in humanitarian causes, and it is now regarded as a classic of its kind.

³¹ See "President Witherspoon's Writings" in Varnum Lansing Collins, *President Witherspoon: A Biography* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1925), II: 235-266.

³² 21 Feb. 1774. George S. Brookes, *Friend Anthony Benezet* (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1937), p. 447.

The Dillys contributed their share to the controversial literature that poured from London presses in the years preceding the Revolution, though their contribution does not compare with John Almon's in quantity or virulence. A tract against a proposal for American bishops and another reporting the "Horrid Massacre" in Boston in 1770 have already been mentioned. In the same year the Dillys issued John Lathrop's sermon, *Innocent Blood Crying from the Streets of Boston*. Mrs. Macaulay supplied the firm with pamphlets on the all-engrossing subject of American affairs with regularity. Before Josiah Quincy had arrived in London late in 1774, the Dillys had issued a reprint of his *Observations on . . . the Boston Port Act*, which won acclaim even in the English press for its forceful arguments.

These are representative of the firm's pro-American publishing activity. The war put a stop to most, though not quite all, of this. In 1780, for example, Charles Dilly headed a syndicate of London and provincial booksellers that brought out a reprint of Charles Henry Wharton's *Poetical Epistle to His Excellency George Washington* for the purpose of raising a fund for American prisoners in England. This production was complete with an engraved portrait and a biographical sketch of the American commander-in-chief; it asserted that, compared with Washington, the British leaders were a corrupt and degenerate lot, and that the United States had become "The great asylum of oppress'd mankind." It was reported that 15,000 copies of the *Epistle* were sold within three weeks of publication.³³ In 1782, before peace had been declared, Dilly issued a reprint of Thomas Paine's remarkable *Letter to the Abbé Raynal, on the Affairs of North America*, a tract containing salutary if rather too idealistic advice to the British government.

³³ Wharton's *Epistle* was first published at Annapolis, 1779; there were a number of American reprints; see Sabin 103093, Evans 16677. On the author, see Moses Coit Tyler, *The Literary History of the American Revolution* (New York, Barnes & Noble, 1941), II: 165-169.

American independence was bound to have a marked effect on British publishing and bookselling. For one thing, American publishing activity had rapidly expanded, and nationalistic sentiment encouraged publishing at home rather than in England. For another thing, American writers—like the rest of their countrymen—were deeply concerned with internal and highly practical affairs which could no longer have the interest for English readers they once had. Literature in the limited sense of belles-lettres barely existed, and authorship as a profession was as yet unknown on this side of the Atlantic. In a letter of advice to those disposed to migrate to the United States, Dr. Rush observed that “Literary men who have no professional pursuits” would almost certainly “languish in America from the want of society. Our authors and scholars are generally men of business and make their literary pursuits subservient to their interests. A lounge in bookstores, breakfasting parties for the purpose of literary conversation, and long Attic evenings are as yet but little known in this country. . . . Men who are philosophers or poets, without other pursuits, had better end their days in the old country.”⁸⁴

Still, Charles Dilly, sole proprietor of the firm after Edward's death in 1779, quickly set his lines again after the war for books produced by Americans that would sell in England. Rush sent a succession of his own works on medical, philosophical, and humanitarian subjects, among which those on the disastrous yellow-fever epidemics in Philadelphia did especially well commercially. It was presumably Rush who directed young Benjamin Smith Barton, a medical student and promising botanist, to Dilly. Barton submitted a manuscript that was published in 1787 as *Observations on Some Parts of Natural History*, and copies were exported to Philadelphia. This treatise contained conjectures on the origin

⁸⁴ To an unidentified correspondent, 16 April 1790. *Letters of Benjamin Rush*, I: 549-50.

of the Muskingun mounds and the first peopling of America—subjects of intense interest to the learned world then and for many years to come. In the same year Dilly issued a volume of Franklin's most recent *Philosophical and Miscellaneous Papers*, drawn principally from the second volume of the American Philosophical Society's *Transactions* and edited by Edward Bancroft.³⁵ In 1788 he imported and distributed the first volume of the *Memoirs* of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences at Boston; and, ten years later, he rounded out his services to the learned societies of the new nation by distributing in England the earliest volume of the *Transactions* of the College of Physicians of Philadelphia.

In the realm of creative literature the only American title I have found on the Dilly list after the Revolution is Joel Barlow's high-flown *Vision of Columbus: A Poem* (1788). This work was not calculated to please English readers, and it did not sell.

In the fields of politics and political economy Dilly issued the learned three-volume treatise by John Adams, then our minister to England, entitled *A Defence of the Constitutions of Government of the United States of America* (1787-1788); and a reprint of Pelatiah Webster's *Political Essays on the Nature and Operation of Money, Public Finances, and Other Subjects* (1792). These were dull but important and influential books. Probably on the recommendation of Adams, Dilly published the *Political Sketches* (1787) of the young Marylander William Vans Murray, then a student at the Middle Temple.

The Revolution stimulated the writing of both local and national history in the United States. Early in the field was David Ramsay with his two-volume *History of the Revolution of South Carolina from a British Province to an Independent State* (Trenton, 1785). Probably by the advice of Dr. Rush, his close friend and former teacher, Ramsay proposed that Dilly import a hundred

³⁵ P. L. Ford, *Franklin Bibliography* (Brooklyn, 1889), No. 380. See Franklin to Bancroft, 26 Nov. 1786 (Franklin, *Writings*, ed. Smyth, IX: 550-1).

sets. Dilly agreed, but after reading the work and obtaining legal advice he concluded that it was too hot to handle.³⁶ He did undertake, however, William Gordon's *History of the Revolution*, the earliest substantial work of its kind, and still useful because based on extensive use of manuscript materials.³⁷ He also imported some sets of Jeremy Belknap's *History of New-Hampshire* (1784-1792), an admirable example of state history and now eagerly sought after, but unsuccessful then both at home and abroad. Dilly reported having lost about £14 on this transaction.³⁸

Near the end of his career as bookseller, Dilly sponsored in England two other rising American authors—Noah Webster and Jedidiah Morse. He imported three of Webster's publications in 1797, all of which had been printed some years earlier in the United States. No correspondence bearing on Webster's dealings with Dilly has been found, but it is likely that the author in this case sent unsold copies of the American editions in the hope that some could be disposed of in England, and bore all the risk himself. The case of Morse and his *American Gazetteer* is more complex. William Gordon had given Dilly a copy of Morse's *American Gazetteer*, originally published at Elizabeth, New Jersey, in 1797. Dilly promptly planned and advertised a reprint, for, as he had explained repeatedly to American authors in urging them to send him sheets as printed rather than bound books, any British publisher was free to reprint an American

³⁶ See Charles Dilly to Rush, 1 Feb. and 5 May 1786, printed below. Ramsay's more inclusive work, *The History of the American Revolution*, was reprinted by Stockdale in 1791 and appears to have done well, for a new edition was published by Stockdale in 1793.

³⁷ *The History of the Rise, Progress, and Establishment of the Independence of the United States of America* (London, 1788), 4 vols. On Gordon and his *History*, see "Letters of the Reverend William Gordon, Historian of the American Revolution, 1770-1799" (ed. W. C. Ford), in: Mass. Hist. Soc., *Proceedings*, LXIII: 303-613 (1931).

³⁸ Charles Dilly's account rendered to Belknap, 27 Dec. 1793 (MS in Belknap Papers, Mass. Hist. Soc.; text given in S. H. Bingham's thesis, p. 110). There is scattered correspondence on the transaction in the several printed volumes of *Belknap Papers* (Mass. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, 5th series, II-III; 6th series, IV).

book that came into his hands. But John Stockdale, protesting that Morse had a contract with him for all his geographical works, demanded an equal share in this venture and threatened to bring out a competing edition if his demand was not met. Dilly yielded, but pointed out to Morse that this arrangement would reduce the chance of a financial return to the author. As a consolation Dilly sent Morse half a dozen copies of the *Gazetteer* printed on fine paper and with the maps colored. The author heard about all this long after it happened, but received the special copies of his book with becoming gratitude. "I . . . shall," he wrote, "gratify my friends with a sight of the Edition many of whom are very partial to English printed books, & shall circulate them as far as they will go." He went on to explain his contract with Stockdale, who had issued a London reprint of Morse's *American Geography* in 1792 and had offered to pay a small sum to Morse upon receipt of two copies of each subsequent revision of that work or of the proposed *Gazetteer*—"On condition that neither you, your Printer or Bookseller shall send any copies of the above works to Great Britain." Morse had agreed, but having had no acknowledgment of the books he had duly sent, or indeed any kind of word from Stockdale for several years, he supposed the contract was off and "had contemplated opening a correspondence with some other bookseller" before Dilly's letter and present had reached him.³⁹

This incident reveals some of the difficulties faced by American authors and British publishers trying to do business across the Atlantic in the later eighteenth century. Similar problems and indeed all phases of trans-Atlantic publishing and bookselling are illustrated in Edward and Charles Dilly's letters to Benjamin Rush from 1770 to 1795: the securing of good manuscripts to print and good books to reprint; keeping authors happy

³⁹ William Gordon to Morse, 4 May 1798; Charles Dilly to Morse, 19 Oct. 1798; both in New-York Historical Society. Dilly to Morse, 4 June 1799; Morse to Dilly, 2 Oct. 1799; both in Yale University Library.

with presents of books (their own and others'), since cash could rarely be sent; promoting and marketing American books in England and, conversely, English books in America; extending credit and collecting bills; the re-establishment of cultural and commercial connections after the Revolution; the changing tides of taste in both countries. All these topics are touched on and are pleasantly interlarded with political and literary gossip in this extended series of letters.⁴⁰ So far as I know, there is no comparable body of material elsewhere to document these developments.

These letters to Rush, together with the other evidence presented in this paper, show that the Dilly firm had active American interests throughout its near half-century of existence. At first it concentrated on exporting nonconformist literature to a large American market. The contacts thus formed led to the importing of American material for printing and reprinting in London. In the years before the Revolution, principally because of the elder Dilly's ardent pro-Americanism, the firm issued a moderate amount of propaganda in favor of the colonists. This, together with the brothers' hospitality to traveling Americans and their reputation for generous and upright dealing with authors, formed trans-Atlantic connections for the firm that were interrupted but by no means severed by the years of war. After the war the surviving partner, a shrewder business man than his brother and less addicted to political whims, lost little time in restoring and strengthening the old ties. He began exporting books again, but his main objective was to find and secure promis-

⁴⁰ The originals are in the Library Company of Philadelphia, Ridgway Branch, Rush MSS, XXXI, fol. 1-29. (Rush's letters to the Dillys have not been found, nor indeed have any of the extensive personal and business papers that, presumably, they left. Were their papers destroyed?) The annotation for the letters now printed is pretty strictly confined to matters of bibliographical interest. Most of the persons alluded to, and many of the topics discussed, are annotated in my edition of Rush's *Letters*, of which the present article is a by-product. I wish to thank both the Library Company of Philadelphia for its courtesy in allowing the Dilly letters to be published, and the American Philosophical Society for grants for research on Rush.

ing American books to print, reprint, or merely to distribute in England. Considering that good material was scarce and the English reading public had less reason to be interested in America than it had been earlier, Charles did a remarkably good job. No first-rate creative literature was to be had, but his list from 1782 to 1800 contains political works by Thomas Paine, John Adams, and Pelatiah Webster; histories by Gordon and Belknap; medical and philanthropic writings by Rush; scientific treatises by Franklin and Barton and the transactions of the three principal scientific societies established in the United States before 1800; works on language and geography by Noah Webster and Jedidiah Morse. This is a highly respectable roster of American authors in the post-Revolutionary period. From our knowledge of particular cases, it seems probable that Dilly made money on relatively few of these books. On some we know he lost money. But that he was a good judge and strong supporter of American writing is undeniable.

THE DILLY LETTERS

From Edward and Charles Dilly

Dear Sir,

London 26 April. 1770

We have taken the liberty of sending to the care of Capt Villeneuve Six Pamphlets of Mr. Vaughans Appeal to the Public concerning his Negotiation with the Duke of Grafton—Mr. Vaughans Character has been unjustly impeached—therefore as an honest man he has printed an Appeal to the public; in which the impartial reader will find he has clearly thrown off the Odium and illiberal abuse his Enemies charged him with—We beg you to give Five of these appeals to the most popular Gentlemen in your City—Viz—Dickinson Esqr. &c. The other you'll please to keep for your own reading.⁴¹

⁴¹ Samuel Vaughan, a merchant of Jamaica and London, held radical political views; several of his sons (Benjamin, John, Charles) later came to America and achieved eminence here. His *Appeal to the Public on Behalf of Samuel Vaughan Esq.; in a Full and Impartial Narrative of His Negotiation with the Duke of Grafton* (London, E. and C. Dilly), relates to a charge that he had tried to buy an office for one of his sons. James Boswell, who knew Vaughan as a friend to the cause of Corsican liberty, described a visit that he and Edward Dilly paid to Vaughan in

The parcel we received in Jan: last for Mr. Dubourg—We delivered to Dr. Franklin—who had an opportunity of Conveying the same enclosed with one for the same gentleman. We are very glad to find that you are become so considerable a practitioner in Physic—as to be the Agreeable slave and faithful friend to the many afflicted. The fair Historian honoured us last Week with her Company to Dinner—and continued some part of the Evening—We are very sorry to tell you that she is in a bad state of health—and has been so for some months. We are persuaded that you join wth. us in earnest desire for a reestablishment of her health that the world may not be unfortunately disappointed with the Conclusion of her History—Poor Paoli is quite lost since his arrival in Eng: by Yielding to the dictates of the prime Minister the Duke of Grafton—this mean submission—and his acceptance of a pension of a Thousand pr Annum—which by the way, is only during pleasure, and may be removed the very next change of the Ministry. We need not enlarge on the once boasted *hero* as we suppose our papers must have informed you of the total Eclips of this Wonderful Chief.

We have sent agreeable to your desire to the care of the same Captain—Cronstedts Mineralogy together with Two other Books in your way viz, Rutty on the Weather of Dublin—and Dr. Alston's *Materia Medica*—both of which we hope will meet with your approbation—Mr. Coomes [Thomas Coombe] has been very Ill of a Fever latly—but is now well recovered—Mr. Montgomerie—who has been over a few Months—is at present in the Country and holds for some Weeks a Curacy. Mr Davis is removed from Westminster to Islington where he has a good Academy—and is in a prosperous way. We have nothing new in Politics worth relating—John Wilkes the Champion of Liberty is released from the Kings Bench Prison—and was sworn in Alderman of London last Tuesday. You shall have every Medical Book of real and approved merit as they are Published—pray enquire of Mr Bradford how it is with the sale of our good Historian—and whether he is nearly ready to give a Fresh order for more Sets—the check upon the Importation of our Manufactory should not prevent the spread of a History professedly wrote in the genuine spirit of free and Constitutional liberty. Not to trouble you with a long letter—We conclude ourselves Dear Sir,

Your Obdt Humbl Servts
E & C Dilly⁴²

Sept. 1769 when the latter was composing his defense (*Private Papers from Malahide Castle*, VIII: 107-108).

⁴² The letter is in Charles Dilly's hand.

Dear Sir,

Lond. 20 July, 1770

We were favoured with your letter datd 19 May—a few days ago—and do now inform you that the Two Books you wrote for viz Ruty on the Weather and Cronstedt's Mineralogy were sent last April by the Amelia—with the Materia Medica of the late Dr. Alston 2 Vols. Qto. a Work in high esteem with the Medical Gentlemen in London. We will endeavour to procure the Paper which contains your Treatise on the Hives⁴³—and get the same Printed in the London Magazine as soon as possible—We shall be glad of a remittance from you and your Brother—when it suits—You will have a letter from Mr. Coomes—by the same Gentleman who is the Bearer of this—excuse haste—We are very respectfully—Your Most Humb Servts

E & C DILLY⁴⁴*From Edward Dilly*

Dear Sir

London Jany. 4th. 1771

I recd your favour of the 24th Sept and likewise that of the 12th of October by your Brother.⁴⁵

I am very happy to hear, that your situation is agreeable & of your meeting with such success in Philadelphia, if your Health continues, and you possess the same vivacity which you had in England, I shall expect to hear in a short Time of your making a figure on the Western Continent, not only in the Medical World, but in the republic of Letters, when you left London you had something in Hand which [you] had thoughts of Committing to the Press, if you should determine to Print, the sooner you send it the better,—have you never yet seen Mr Dickenson the Author of the Farmers Letters,⁴⁶ if that Gentleman, or any Other of your acquaintance

⁴³ This probably refers to Rush's *Dissertation on the Spasmodic Asthma of Children*, which was published in London later this year by T. Cadell. On the term "hives," see Rush's *Letters*, II: 982.

⁴⁴ The letter is in Charles Dilly's hand; it is addressed: "To Dr. Rush Philadelphia pr. favour of Mr. Bembridge." (Routine addresses have been disregarded in printing this series of letters.)

⁴⁵ Rush's younger brother, Jacob, studied law at the Middle Temple, 1770-1771, where he became friendly with Oliver Goldsmith among others. A long letter from Jacob to Benjamin, 24 Jan. 1771, contains an account of a dinner at Mrs. Macaulay's (Library Company of Philadelphia, Rush MSS, XXXIV).

⁴⁶ John Dickinson, of Philadelphia and Delaware, celebrated for his *Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania to the Inhabitants of the British Colonies* (Philadelphia: Hall and Sellers, 1768; originally published serially in the *Pennsylvania Chronicle*). Dickinson's letters were "promptly reprinted by [virtually] every other newspaper in the Colonies" (Evans). There were numerous American and British reprints of the pamphlet.

should write upon a popular Subject, and well executed, shall be glad if you will use your endeavours to send them to London to be Printed here, as the sale will be much more extensive—The Books we sent you by the *Amelia Capt Villeneuve*, were sent on Board by our own Servant, who delivered the Parcel into the hands of the Mate of the Ship and Mr Coombes was a witness of Capt Villeneuve acknowledging at the Coffee House, that he would take Care of the Parcel and deliver it safe,—if it is not yet come to your hands—Capt Villeneuve should Pay you for the Value—We have however sent you another Copy of Alstons *Materia Medica* and Cronstedt *Mineralogy*, and supposing the other should appear, we make no doubt, you will easily get a Purchaser for what we have now sent.

Your Brother is very well pleased with this Country, he is now agreeably situated in the Temple, I have had the pleasure of his Company several Times, and have introduced him to a Number of Celebrated Persons in the Literary Way, Viz. Mrs. Macaulay, Dr. Langhorne Dr. Gibbon [Thomas Gibbons, D.D.], Rev. Mr. Mayo and many more Clergy and Laity, he will meet with so many Temptations on this side the water, that you must not expect to see him in America for some Years.—the fifth volume of Mrs Macaulays Hist[ory] is in the Press and will be finished in a short Time—it contains the whole Hist of the Common Wealth to the Restoration of Charles the Second, we sent a Number of Copies of the 4th vol 8vo, and as you now allow of a free Importation, I hope you will recommend the sale of them among your friends. We sent a Number of them to Mr Bradford, so that any of your friends may have them from him. I hope Mr and Mrs Gordon are in good Health, and that they have got an agreeable situation in America—please to present my Compliments to both, and accept of my most cordial salutation from

Dear Sir

Your most Obedient Servant

EDWD DILLY

P.S.

Shall be glad of the favour of a line pr first opportunity. We have likewise sent you 3 Medical Books which are just Published—the undermentioned articles—are packed in Dr. Wm. Smiths—Case of Books &c and will we hope arrive safe. they are shipped on Board the Mary & Eliz: Capt Sparks the *Britannia*—Capt Faulkner—having got too low down the River before the Case was ready.

Dr Benj Rush	Bot of Edwd & Ch Dilly
1771	£
Jany 24th: 1 Alstone's Material Medica	1.16.0
1 Cronstedt Mineralogy	5
	£2. 1. 0
1 Dr Grants Observations on Fevers	0 6. 0
1 Huxham on the Air	1. 6
1 Medical Observations	6
	£2.14. 6

the Spanish Ambassador signed a Declaration last Tuesday in regard to Falkland Island, which his Majesty has accepted off. I have sent the News Paper of this Day, which contains all the particulars so that the Prospect of an Approaching War is at an End.

Dear Sir

London Feb. 13th. 1771

I beg leave to recommend to your favour the bearer of this Letter, Mr Myfort, who with his wife and Daughter intend, if a favourable opportunity offers, to settle in some kind of Business in Philadelphia or New York, he is a very industrious Person, and his Wife has been for many years past Housekeeper to Mrs Macaulay, and has just left her service to go with her Husband to America, as they are entire Strangers in Philadelphia, I have no doubt but you will render them every service in your Power.

I had the pleasure this Day of Mrs Macaulay's Company to Dinner, together with some friends from America Viz your Brother, Mr Bond &c and Dr Drummond of Edinr a most intimate friend of Dr Cullen's.

Mrs Macaulay intended to have written you a few Lines, but her close application to Study, in finishing the Fifth Volume of her History, at the same Time being very indifferent in Health, prevents the keeping up that correspondence with her Friends as she could Wish. she requested me to present her best Compliments to you, and please to accept of the most cordial salutation from

Dear Sir

Your most Obedient Servant
Edward Dilly

PS

My Brother offers his best Compliments to you and all our American friends and I shall be very happy to hear from [you] pr first opportunity.

Dear Sir

London July 31st 1771

I received your favour of the 2d of May a few Days ago and am very happy to hear that you are in good Health and are in such a prosperous Way. I shall hope to hear in a few Years that my good friend Dr Rush is not only Professor of Chemistry in Philadelphia, but the first Man of Practice on the Continent of America. I shall always rejoice at your success and shall be ever mindful of your good wishes towards me—you need not be uneasy at your not making a remittance by the last opportunity, suit your own Conveniency and I shall be perfectly satisfied. I am much obliged to you for your recommendation, and whatever Commissions we receive from America, shall be executed with the utmost punctuality. There has not been any thing very remarkable Published of late in the Medical Way—we have sent 2 or 3 small Articles lately Printed—Dr Cadogans treatise on the Gout and Chronic Diseases has had a very great run and the Publication of the Pamphlet has been of peculiar Service to the Doctor, great Numbers fly to him for advice, as he speaks so open and candid in this Publication—I have sent you a Copy with the other things—You intimate something of your intentions of writing on the same subject—if you have any New Discoveries in that Disease, I make no doubt it will answer Printing—as for the Subject of Inoculation—it is almost exhausted—but if you have some thing New and curious, it may do—however at any rate, you may send over the Copy, and I can consult my friend Saunders, who is now chosen Physician to Guy's Hospital, and is coming into good Practice—the Work you mention, when finished, will be of exceeding great Service in recommending you to very considerable Practice, by extending your fame over the Continent, and will be a Useful Work to mankind in general—it will no doubt take you up some Years before it can be finished—but the sooner you accomplish your design the better—I shall be glad to hear in your next, how far you have proceeded—Mr Dubourg has not yet sent any thing to our Care, you may depend upon it whatever comes from him, shall be carefully conveyed to you, and we will Pay whatever he draws upon us for the same—if Mr. Dickinson should ever think of commencing Author, you may take an opportunity of speaking to him, though he does not intend any thing immediately he may possibly produce something in a few Years,—Mr Dickenson wrote to Mrs Macaulay a few weeks ago, at the same Time he sent that Lady a Present of a Piece of Silk Manufactured in Philadelphia. She has wrote him a Polite Letter of thanks for the same—I am sorry to find that so very

few of the History of England, though in an Octavo Size goes off in America—I expected a very great sale in your Quarter of the World—I shall be obliged to you for your recommendation of the work among all your friends—We have nothing very material in the Political World—what little is passing you will see in the London Magazine every Month—I shall be always happy to hear from you whenever opportunity offers. my Brother joins with me in most respectfull Compliments

I am Dear Sir

Your most Obedt Servt

EDWD DILLY

Aug. 8th, 1771

1 Aikin on Lead	1. 6
1 Cadogan on the Gout	1. 6

P.S.

3.

We sent to your Brothers Chambers the 20th June Lond. Magazine & Monro on Mineral Waters agreeable to his orders—he says they are for your use and desires they may be placed to your account

the price of the Magazines, Jany. to July Inclusive	3. 6
Monro on M. Waters Qto	12. 0
the above 2 Pamphlets	3.
	18: 6

Sent the above to the care of Capt. Falconer. Be so obliging as to order your servant to deliver the parcel for Dr. Logan—and Dr. Wm. Smith.

E & C D.⁴⁷

Dear Sir

London May 2d 1772

I received your favour by Capt Osborne with the Pamphlet, entitled "*Sermons to Gentlemen &c.*" I am very glad to hear that it has met with so good a reception in Philadelphia, there are undoubtedly many judicious Remarks and good Instructions given for exercise and Temperance—The novelty of the Title may possibly excite the attention of the Public—but Pamphlets in general will scarcely Pay the expences of Paper, Printing and Advertising, the latter being a very heavy expence upon a small Book, so that unless the sale is pretty considerable, it will not answer Publication—however as I am pleased with the Pamphlet itself and having a great respect for the Author, I have Printed a very handsem edition, not in the manner you proposed, but have Printed it on a neat Type and on

⁴⁷ The postscript as well as the letter is in Edward Dilly's hand.

fine Writing Paper, and a Size handy for the Pocket, so that it looks exceeding neat and will do Credit to the Publication in London. I find you are already known to be the Author by some Persons in London, you may depend upon it I will get it as well recommended as I can in the Reviews & Magazines & likewise get some extracts of it in some of the Evening Papers, that it may be publicly known—it will be Published next Week, and Intend previous to the Publication to send a few Copies by Way of presents to some respectable Characters in the Literary World—I sent Copies Yesterday to Lord Lyttelton, Mrs Macaulay, Mrs Montague, Mrs Scott, Mr. Boswell and will send a Number to your Brother to present to Dr Cadogan Dr Franklin &c and I likewise Will send Copies to some of our Bishops—we have carefully attended to your Corrections & additional Notes—it was judged necessary to make an alteration in the Title Page, and instead of saying Sermons to Gent[lemen], we call it *Sermons to the Rich and Studious*, as it is more applicable to such Persons than to Gentlemen in general—I have sent you half a Dozen Copies carefully put up in a Box of Books sent to a Neighbour of yours Dr Wm Smith of Philadelphia, by the *Ashley Capt Piddington* & hope they will come safe to your Hands—you shall be informed of the reception the Pamphlet meets with here, in a short Time after the Publication⁴⁸—I had the pleasure of seeing your Brother Yesterday. we Dined together with a Select Party at Mrs Macaulays

We should have been glad of a remittance by the last opportunity, but as it does not immediately suit you we must wait till it suits your convenience, allowing the common Interest after the expiration of Twelve Months Credit. My Brother joins me in most respectful Compliments, excuse haste.

I am Dear Sir

Your most Obedt Servant
EDWD DILLY

London June 26. 1773

Dear Sir

I have just received a Line from you inclosing your Second Bill of Exchange on Messrs Herries & Co for Forty Three Pounds Sterling, (the first Bill not being yet come to Hand) and I have placed the same to your account Credit. I am extremely happy to hear by some Gentlemen from Philadelphia that your success in business is so very considerable for

⁴⁸ Rush's *Sermons to Gentlemen upon Temperance and Exercise* . . . had been published in Philadelphia by John Dunlap earlier this year. The Dillys reprinted it under the title *Sermons to the Rich and Studious, on Temperance and Exercise*. The work is dedicated to the London physician William Cadogan.

so short a standing, and that in a few years, you bid fair to be the foremost in Practice,—one may then expect to see some capital Book Published, to perpetuate your Memory, Written by Dr Benj'n Rush the Cullen of America—I hear by a friend that Mr Coombes is married, but not to the Lady whom he was sighing after when in England, he has been so very obliging as not to burden me with many Letters, and though I took every opportunity of introducing him to some of the first Literary Characters while he was in London, he was not so polite as to bid me farewell on his leaving England—I make indeed some allowances for him on account of his being troubled some times with the Hip,⁴⁹ and then he is generally forgetful of his friends—I shall esteem it a favour if you will send the inclosed to Mr Logan, father of the late Dr Logan—We have had no remarkable Physical Publications this Season, as for Politics we have but little at this Time, the Chief of the present Session has been employd in East India affairs—the Culprits of the last are brought off, and now government has taken the Management of the affairs of the Company into their own Hands, this will be a means of increasing the Number of Dependants on the Crown and furnishing administration with further means of Corruption. I shall be glad to know if your Brother has done any thing with Mr Thos Bradford in settling his account, we have wrote to Mr Bradford various Times but cannot get any kind of answer, he certainly does not act consistently like of a Man of honour in Trade, the sooner your Brother will be so kind as to settle with him the better.

Last Thursday was the Day for electing Sheriffs for the City of London & County of Midlesex for the year ensuing, and Mr Wilkes with his Interest has got Mr Sayre, who was in Partnership with Mr Debert [Dennys De Berdt], returned Sheriff, with Alderman Plomer. This you will say is a little extraordinary, as serving that office is attended with a very great expence. Mr Sayre is a Bill of Rights Man, and whatever that Society undertake for their own Members, they are very indefatigable till they accomplish their designs.

My Brother Charles is gone a Tour to the North and intends visiting Edinr before he returns. You will please to present my respectful Compliments [to] your Brother and accept of the same from

Dear Sir

Yours most sincerely

EDWD DILLY

⁴⁹ *Hip, hyp*: abbreviation for *hypochondria*; "morbid depression of the spirits" (*New English Dictionary*, under *Hip*, sb. 3).

PS

Since I Wrote the above your Letter came to Hand with the first Bill of Exchange on Herries, but the Second Bill coming to Hand first was accepted, I am much obliged to you for having spoke to Mr Bradford, and I hope as soon as he returns to you what Books he has got unsold, (I mean such only as were sent on return, those which he Commissioned he must undoubtedly keep) that he will then remit the balance of his account which has been so long standing—I am much obliged to you for the Copy of your Pamphlet on Slavery, which you have sent by Capt Patton, though it is not yet come to my Hand, I make no doubt it is written with spirit and that we shall give some extracts of it in the Papers, if it should be thought proper to reprint it here, some Copies of it shall be sent over to you⁵⁰—As Mr Bradford is an intimate friend of yours, I shall not acquaint him of your knowing any thing about the state of the Accts—and if he does not remit the balance after returning the Books to you which were sent on return, we must employ Mr Bond to recover the same. I have sent you inclosed a list of those Articles which were sent on return,⁵¹ all the rest were Commissioned, so that he has no right to return any others,—if you cannot get this Matter settled with him, let me know Mr Bond's Christian Name, and I will send him full Powers to obtain satisfaction—The fifth Vol of Van Swieten Commentaries I have sent agreeable to your order by Capt All—the Price of which is eighteen shillings the Book was sent to the Capt's Lodging to be delivered to you by himself.

From Edward and Charles Dilly

Lond. July 13th. 1774

Dear Sir/

About three Weeks ago Your *Oration* before the American Philosophical Society—as mentioned in your letter by Capt. All & Falconer came to hand—and a second Copy of the same which you desired might be put into Doctor Franklins hands—previous to its going to press—During this period—We caused it to be inserted in *Three* of our Lond. papers as in the Press & shortly to be Published—We sent to Dr. Franklin two or

⁵⁰ Earlier this year Rush had brought out *An Address to the Inhabitants of the British Settlements in America, upon Slave-Keeping*, “By a Pennsylvanian” (Philadelphia, Dunlap); to the second edition, which followed shortly, was added *A Vindication of the Address*. . . . In a letter to Rush dated 21 Feb. 1774, Granville Sharp reported from London that the Dillys had declined to reprint Rush's tract, “as they think the Sale of it would not defray the expence” (Rush MSS, XXVIII).

⁵¹ This enclosure is missing.

3 times but he though[t] proper to show it to *Dr. Huck* to whom you have inscribed the piece—These Gentlemen are both of opinion to re-print it here would be improper,—for reasons which will be given to you—in a Letter from Doctor Franklin.—It was our intention if we had reprinted your Oration to have made a Volume of it—the same size as *Dr. Gregories Comparative View*—the Contents of your piece makes much the same in quantity as that book.⁵²

The reason of our Advertising your books as at Press was to prevent any other Bookseller's Committing the same to another House—indeed you have hinted such a circumstance might otherwise have happened;—as several are come over to different persons and any Bookseller has an equal right to re-print any book or Pamphlet which comes from America—A Manuscript is a different thing.—The Work which you are upon on *Digestion of Food in the Stomach &c*—when this Treatise is finished and you think proper Sir, to transmit the M.S. to us—it shall be examined by any person or persons you shall mention—previous to its going to the Press—However Sir, if the piece is conveyed to us—and is Printed We will take the risk of the whole Publication on our selves—and if any profit should arise from the sale,—You shall have half—We think as this proposal is a very equitable one you will not object to it—The Demand for Medical books from the most eminent Authors is never great, and the experience we have had—which is not a little, has abundantly proved our Assertion to be true—A Bookseller who Prints many New books runs very considerable hazard, and if it was not for the few successful hits⁵³ many Thousand Pounds would be lost in a short space of time—The Rev. Mr. Ewing and Dr. Williamson have been in Scotland about 2 Months are now in Edinburgh—but they intend to leave that place for Ireland in a few days—we have not been acquainted with their success in Scotland

⁵² The work alluded to is *An Oration, Delivered February 4, 1774, before the American Philosophical Society, Held at Philadelphia. Containing, an Enquiry into the Natural History of Medicine among the Indians in North-America, and a Comparative View of Their Diseases and Remedies, with Those of Civilized Nations . . .* (Philadelphia, Cruikshank [1774]). Franklin advised postponing publication in England on the ground that "some Particulars" in the *Oration* might "be excepted to by the medical People here, many of whom are in the Royal Society & have great Weight there"; and Franklin was about to propose Rush for membership in the Society (letter to Rush, 22 July 1774; Franklin, *Writings*, ed. Smyth, VI: 235). As things turned out, the *Oration* was never reprinted in England, and Rush was never elected to the Royal Society.

⁵³ This word is partly overwritten, and no reading of it is quite satisfactory.

—are afraid but poor—some late impositions and improper application of money that has been collected there 2 or 3 Years past in England & Scotland—for the American Seminaries of Learning, have blunted the zest of the principal encouragers to those subscriptions—We are Sir, with respectful Compliments to your Brother

Your most Obdt. Servants

EDWD & CHS. DILLY⁵⁴

Dr. Gibbons, who is a warm advocate for the New Jersey College, is much prejudiced tis said against that at Newark [Delaware], by a letter which the Doctor received some time ago from the President of the N.J. College.

From Edward Dilly

London Sept 22d 1774

Dear Sir

I was not in Town when your favor of the 24th of April arrived with a Copy of your Oration, my Brother consulted one or two friends, particularly Dr Franklin, who thought the Publication of it in London would not answer, he therefore declined the republication of it here—some of our friends have nevertheless perused the Work, and highly applaud it, but the sale is more calculated for the Place where the oration was delivered.

Your last favor by Mr. Sayre was delivered a few Days ago and I had the pleasure of his Company to Dinner Yesterday, and on Saturday last he Dined with my Brother at Sherrieff Lee's—it will always afford me great pleasure to receive any American friend who is recommended by Dr Rush, and to shew him every civility in my power—Mr Sawbridge has just sent me the inclosed Letter to be transmitted to you, he is one of the most zealous advocates for America that we have in England—and you ought to erect a Statue of Marble of him in Philadelphia, for he acts a more consistant Part in favour of your Constitutional Rights than Chatham, Rockingham, Burke, Barre or Saville.⁵⁵

We hope to hear good Tidings from the Congress of America, if you are firm and unanimous amongst yourselves there is no doubt but your grievances will soon be redressed. I most sincerely Wish Prosperity to

⁵⁴ The letter and its postscript are in Charles Dilly's hand.

⁵⁵ Sawbridge's letter to Rush, enclosed, is dated 19 Sept. 1774 and is in the Rush MSS, XLIV. It furnishes political news.

the American Provinces and all happiness to yourself and Brother, and am with respectful Compliments to both

Dear Sir

Yours most sincerely

EDWD DILLY

PS

I have inclosed you 2 Copies of the Bp of St Asaphs intended speech on the Bill for altering the Charters.⁵⁶

From Charles Dilly

Dear Sir,

Lond: 26th June 1783

I believe it was a few Days prior to my receiving your polite letter—delivered to me by Mr. Hall—that I wrote to you by the favour of Mr. Mullet—if so—I now acknowledge the receipt of your Epistle—and must confess it gave me great pleasure—when I discovered the hand writing—and name of the person who had heretofore indulged me with his correspondence. I have had at present but little of Mr Halls Company—and I am sorry to say his late indisposition has prevented his paying some visits. He is however now got much better—and I hope will be reestablished in perfect health. Dr. Kippis—Dr. Gibbons—& Dr: Mayo—as are others of your old acquaintance in the land of the living—and enjoying the bounties of Providence amongst a pretty numerous acquaintance.

I will just take the liberty Sir, to inquire whether you have any Literary Production in the Press or preparing for the Public Eye—I have been informed—Histories of the American War are writing by Mr. Gordon, near Boston and Mr. Paine of Philadelphia—I am of the Opinion any Political or Historical Work—from the Pen of so able a writer as Mr Paine—will be well received—His last Tract addressed to the Abbé Raynal which I reprinted in Lond. is well written and met with a pretty good Sale—I conclude future productions from the same Author will sell well. I shall esteem it a favour Sir, if any Piece of real merit & you conceive will answer to reprint in this Country—that you wd be so kind as to forward me the sheets in part as they issue from the Press. Then I shall have a prior opportunity of committing the work to Press to any other Booksr.—wch. after its finished I cannot have—because Copies are by the same

⁵⁶ The Bishop of St. Asaph was Jonathan Shipley, a warm friend of Benjamin Franklin. The publication alluded to is *A Speech Intended to Have Been Spoken on the Bill for Altering the Charters of the Colony of Massachusetts's Bay* (London, T. Cadell, 1774). There were numerous London editions and American reprints.

conveyance sent to different Gentlemen who in course hand them to their respective Booksrs. and then it sometimes happens that the same work is Printing at Two Printing Offices and the only mode to Prevent it wd. certainly be as I have hinted above. I have nothing Particular to mention respecting Politics more than the Daily & Evening Prints furnish—which I conclude are conveyed to your City by every opportunity—I am Dr. Sir,

Your faithful obliged servt.

CHS. DILLY

London: March 15. 1784

Dear Sir,

I troubled you with a letter respecting a small Bill for Sundry Books wch. I have agt. your Brother & which I sent out by the Packet the beginning of this Month—having now the opportunity—I convey to you a duplicate of that Bill—and have no doubt of proper attention being Paid to it.⁵⁷

My intention in the General is to adopt the mode of doing business as pointed out upon the Printed hand Bill—a few of them I have inclosed—but that will not be a Bar agt particular friends with whom I have formerly traded upon mutual trust and advantage. I know some instances of orders that have been executed—in the way mentioned in the Printed advertismt. and it must be obvious to every Gentleman to what disadvantage—the person receives the Books—when so commissioned—and executed.

Perhaps you may not see any impropriety in circulating a few of the Printed Advertisements amongst your acquaintance—and to cause its insertion Twice or Thrice in one of your best Weekly Papers—⁵⁸

I have directed your little Tract a New Method of Inoculating to Dr. Duncan of Edinburgh—and it will go this Week in a Parcel to him—I have no doubt he will Notice the Piece in his next Volume of Medical Commentaries.

You will sir see by our London Prints—that after a powerful struggle in the House of Commons by Mr. Fox and his Friends—he has at length

⁵⁷ The enclosed amount is in the Rush MSS among the Dilly letters. It lists twenty-four legal works shipped to Jacob Rush, 8 Oct. 1773, the charge for which, including freight to New York, amounts to £35.15.10.

⁵⁸ None of the enclosed "Printed Advertisements" has been located in the Rush MSS, nor, despite a careful search of the principal Philadelphia newspapers, has any notice of Dilly's new retail policy been found. The tenor of the new policy is clear, however, from a close reading of this and the following letters.

been obliged to give up his Claim for Place and Power— Mr. Pitt now reigns in the Esteem universally of the People—and his counsel in the Cabinet carries great Weight. The most extraordinary Man for application and ability—I suppose in the annals of History and the Youngest Prime Minister ever known in Europe. His Sovereign has an high admiration of his Wisdom & fortitude. We are just now shewing him every respect that is in the Power of Citizens to do by Presents of Freedom in Gold Boxes—He wants some months of Five & twenty—I wish he may continue to deserve the applause which is so generally shewn him. Dr. Cullen is now in the Press with a very much improved Edition of his First lines in the Practice of Physic—I believe it will be out in June—I know you have great admiration for all that Dr. Cullen writes—and as this work will be almost a New Production—I mean to send out a set to you—the first opportunity after the Volumes are finished. I beg when you see Dr. Ewing you will present my respectful Compliments to him. Mr. Roberdeau left this Place about 10 Days since—in Capt. Halls Ship and I hope ere this he is safe arrived in Philadelphia.

I remain Dr. Sir,

Your faithful obliged Friend & Servt.

CHS. DILLY

The Tract in Medicine which has attracted most notice this Year past is Dr. Saunder's [Richard Huck-Saunders'] Observations on the Red Peruvian Bark—I therefore beg your acceptance of the same. To any Gentleman you may Sir think proper to show my list of Books you will be so good at the same time to deliver the Condition on wch. I propose to furnish the order.

Dear Sir,

London May 1st. 1784

I embrace the opportunity by your relation—Mr. Hall to write a few lines—The last time I did myself the favour to write was upon the business of your Brother—and I do not doubt sir, you will settle that matter to my satisfaction. I hear Dr. Cullens first Lines of the Practice of Physic which I mentioned a few months ago, is to be completed at Press—in a few Weeks—and if so, we shall have them in London by the latter end of June—I will have in recollection and forward a set to you by the first opportunity after the Work reaches this Place.

Dr. Lettsom speaks in the highest terms of approbation of Mr. Hall—both as to his knowledge and application in the Science of Physic & Sur-

gery—and from the extensive Practice of the Doctor in the line of his Profession no mans opinion can stand higher, or better able to form a right of judgement of Professional ability—Mr. Hall was so much taken up in the search of information—by attending Medical & Chirurgical Lectures—that he had little time to Visit the few friends he had been introduced at his first coming over. I had the pleasure of the company last Tuesday of Dr. Price Mrs. Macaulay Graham & her Daughter—and the sensible Quaker Mrs. Knowles—with whom I think you had frequent interviews at my house. Mrs. Macaulay has a pretty addition to her fortune by the death of Dr. Wilson—which happened about a Fortnight since—Prior to this event she had taken her Passage for Boston in New England—her Husband is to go with her. She means to continue in America Two or Three Years—and Visits I believe the whole Provinces of the United States—She proposes to Winter at New York—and in the spring of the New Year Traverse on towards the South—You will in course have her company in Philadelphia most likely this time twelve-month.

Dr Witherspoon is yet in Lond: and with the assistance of a few friends has set a Subscription on foot for the College of New Jersey—It is coming at a very unseasonable time—just at the End of an expensive war—and when the Nation is overwhelmed with Taxes to Pay the interest upon the Debt—However as the Doctor is first Oar, he will collect a few hundreds in Lond. &c—and he will afterwards try to Bleed a little from his own countrymen in the Land of Cakes—where he intends to be sometime in the Summer. The New Parliament is to Assemble the 18th Inst: Mr. Pitt will have a large majority tho' Fox will head a violent Party against him and not let him rest till he shall have a share in the higher departements of the State.

Lord North it is hoped never will rise into Power more—It was the unnatural junction between him & Chas Fox—which caused the King to Dissolve the Parliament.

I remain Dr. Sir, your faithful friend & obdt. Servt.

CHS. DILLY

Dear Sir

Lond. 17 July 1784

I have been duly favoured with your letter of the 12 May delivered to me by Dr. Rogers [John Richardson Bayard Rodgers]. he is a sensible genteel man and seems very attentive to the improvement in the line of

his Profession. I shall be very happy Sir, to introduce him to the acquaintance of my friends—he has introductory letters to Dr. Mayo and Dr. Gibbons—at whos Houses he has been and the Young Doctor will have frequent opportunities of seeing them. I have just now received the Third Volume of Mr. Walkers Serms: and by the Means of a Box to Mr. Wisters [Caspar Wistar's] Brother—I have put in a Copy and also a set of Dr. Cullens Practice of Physic in 4to. which are also Newly Published—You will be please[d] to receive them a present—as an acknowledgement for the kind trouble you have taken to Distribute my Catalogues—and for advertising the Paper of address to furnish any Gentleman with Books—on the conditions proposed in the Advertisement. I am glad to hear Sir, that your Brother is advanced to a Seat on the Bench as a Judge of your Supreme Court—I hope he will long continue to fill the seat with reputation to himself and the benefit of the People. I have lately had a Medical order put into my hands to furnish for a Mr Thos Bond—sent over by a Mr. Wilson to his Merchant—but the Merchant refuses to be answerable for the Payment—allegding as a reason that he is giving up the Trade to N America—I have been informed Mr T. Bond is a Gentleman of some Property and cd. easily satisfy me with the Payment—and I believe I shall execute the order—tho' contrary to the rule I have advanced in my Advertisement.

Please tender my respectful compts to Dr. Ewin—and inform him I shall probably write him by the next opportunity—and that his last favour was left by Dr. Rogers—who I have often the pleasure to see—

I am Dr Sir,

Your faithful & most obdt. Servt:

CHS. DILLY

I hope your relation Mr. Hall is well and in the Prospect of success in his Profession.

Dear Sir

Lond. 3d Novr. 1784

In the Year 1772—the first Volume of the Transactions of the Philosophical Society at Philadelphia was sent over and consigned to my House for Sale—I have been informed—that a Second Vol: was Printed during the late War—and that now a Third is either Printed or at Press—I presume sir, you have a principal share in the conducting this Work—or are intimately connected with the person who superintends the Press—if therefore you have the direction of the Publication—I shall have no objection to 50 or 100 Copies of each being consigned to me with order at

the same time to adv^e: them—a few Copies wd also be required of the First Volume—indeed its likely the distance of Twelve Years has obliterated the recollection of the First Volume—and I shd. think if the First is now to be had nearly as many of them wd. sell as the Succeeding Volumes.⁵⁹ I think the last time I wrote to you a set of Dr. Cullens first lines in the Practice of Physic when [went] out with the letter—As I am quitting my retail business—and in future intend to transact by Commission in the way proposed and set forth in the Printed advertisement—which I find by my requested [*sic*] you caused to be Printed in your Papers—I shall amongst the rest of the out standing debts beg now to inform your Brother that the small demand I have against him may be Paid & I hope he will remit in the spring of the ensuing Year—with the Interest due upon the same—I shall be glad to know whether you have any literary Work going forward either from your self or friends—You will oblige me Sir, to present my kind respects to Dr. Ewing and inform him I am a letter in his debt that I intended to have written him by this opportunity but am prevented by a variety of business—Mr. Whitser [Wistar] & Dr Rogers are lately set off to attend the Winter Medical Lectures in Edinburgh, they were both well when they left Lond.—and as the Two Young candidates are attentive in their study—I am persuaded they will do credit in the Profession of Physic—I remain

Dr Sir, With much respect

Your faithful & obdt Servt.

C DILLY

Lond: 26 Feby 1785

Dear Sir,

I recevd a few days after the arrival of Mr. James Campbell—the letter which you was so obliging as to write & send by that Young Gentleman—the very short residence he made in London gave him little opportunity of Visiting at my House—and his expeditious return to Philadelphia only allowed him the time to order his goods to be shipped prior to his going on board—Dr. Price is grown quite infirm and sees little Company and has left off visiting among the Families he has been accus-

⁵⁹ The first volume of the *Transactions* of the American Philosophical Society had been published in 1771; the second volume did not appear until 1786. As numerous references in his letters show, Dilly was eager to distribute the *Transactions* (which contained contributions by Franklin, Rittenhouse, Rush among others) in England, but he had difficulty in obtaining satisfactory terms from the Society and their Philadelphia printer, Robert Aitken. See *Early Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* . . . 1744 to 1838 (Philadelphia, 1884), 146, 150, 151, 160.

tomed to see. I thank Dr. Hall for his polite letter to me and I purpose soon to write one in acknowledgmt. of his favour—I had a long epistle a few days since from his sensible friend Mr. Witzer [Wistar]—written at Edinr. where he & Dr. Rogers have been closely engaged in pursuit of Medical knowledge for the last Four months & intend to remain in Scotland till the Fall of his Year. Dr. Ruston writes a few lines to you by this opportunity and he no doubt has signified that he is about to take his Passage to Philadelphia in one of the Spring Ships—so its probable he & Mrs. Ruston with their Children will arrive in the ensuing Summer.

As I am now contracting my business—in course I drop all future dealing in the way of Credit either to N America or the West Indies. If any order for Books shd. be procured thro' your means where payment is made certain at home—I shall have no objection to Execute such order—I have written a few lines to your Bro. Mr. Jacob Rush by the last Packet in wch. I have signified my intention to write my Attorney in America to call upon him for the discharge of the Parcel of Law Books—sent out to him upwards of Eleven Years—I must say Sir, his withholding Payment so many years is not acting the part wch. one man of proberty [*sic*] owes to another—The Books being select Law Reports are always saleable and I cd. have sold them repeatedly in Lond. indeed orders at this time are numerous from America for our Law Reports—I do not intend to write to your Bro. any more on the occasion nor shall I trouble you again on the subject after this letter.—The late Dr. Johnsons Works are going to Press with a Life of him by the Editor wh[o] is one of his Executors⁶⁰—I have nothing farther to add at present—and remain, Dr Sir,

Your most obdt. servt.

C DILLY

Please to tender my kind Complts to Dr. Ewing and that I shall write to him very soon—I hope the worthy Dr. is well.

Dr; Sir,

Lond. 8th Augt 1785

I lately received a small Parcel brought to me by a private hand—containing a Packet for Dr. Erskine of Edinr. and another for Dr. Price of Newington Green—they were immediately forwarded to these Gentlemen—The last letter I wrote to you was by Mr. Campbell the beginning of March—since which I have not been favoured with a line—Mr. C:

⁶⁰ This edition of Johnson's *Works*, with his life by Sir John Hawkins, was published by Buckland, Rivington, and others, in 1787 in eleven volumes.

stay in Lond. was much shorter than he signified on his arrival—I suppose his business was sooner finished than he at first imagined—he is a genteel sensible Young Man

I hear Dr. Rogers is about to leave Edinr; to embark for America—if he does not sail direct from Scotland—I shall have the pleasure of seeing him again at my House. Mr. Wistar is seduously employed in the improvement of Medical Knowledge and No doubt if he lives will be an ornament to his Profession. I believe Sir, in a letter the beginning of this Year—I mentioned as Mr. Robt. Bell was Dead to whom about Two Years since I consigned 17 sets of A. Marvells Works 3 Vols. Qto.—I requested of you to cause the sets that were in hand to be sold by auction or any other way for the best price—or indeed for what they woud. bring—As I have had no answer on this business—am uncertain whether the letter came to hand—and shd. that be the Case—I shall again beg to repeat the request of your Applying to Mr. Francis Bailey who writes me the Books are under his care—I am desirous of making up a final account of this Work with the Editor Capt. Thompson—and for this reason—I am the more earnest to know what hath been done with the Books—Mr. Bailey writes of sixteen sets in hand—which shows one Copy had been sold.⁶¹

Dr; Franklin I understand has Sailed from Southampton to America some Weeks since— and I take it for Granted you will see him in Philadelphia—tho' I am of the opinion the Vessel was bound for Boston—and if so, its uncertain at his great age and labouring under the Painful complaint of the stone—whether he will ever visit Philadelphia again.

I hope this will meet you & your Family well—I am sir,

Your faithful & obdt; servt;

CHS; DILLY

I apprehend by the time this letter reaches Philada. you will have Mrs. Macaulay Graham there—She has I [am] told been at N. York for the [past] Two Months.

Her daughter Miss M: is grown up a fine sensible Woman.

Dr; Ruston set out in the July Packet—and I conclude you must have

⁶¹ Robert Bell and Francis Bailey were well-known Philadelphia booksellers; see *Dictionary of American Biography*. The edition alluded to was *The Works of Andrew Marvell . . . With a New Life of the Author*, by Capt. Edward Thompson (London, Printed for the Editor, by H. Baldwin, sold by Dodsley and others, 1776), in three volumes.

seen him some Weeks since—as his object was to reach Philadelphia as soon as possible.

Lond; 1 Feb: 1786

Dear Sir,

Your favour of the 25 Octr I recd. the beginning of Septr—I am much obliged for your information concerning Mrs; M: Graham—Mr. Vaughan—and Dr. Ruston—By the same opportunity that brought me your letter—I had also another from my friend Dr. Ruston—in future however I shall address him T. R. Esqre. as he has given up the Profession of Physic—I am glad to find by your acct. of Dr. Franklin he is likely to live a few Years longer and tho' in his 81st Year enjoys the full exercise of all his Faculties—It gives me concern so good and useful a Man shd; be afflicted with the Painful disease or the Stone—Your very agreeable letter addressed to Dr. Price—has by some way or other gotten into most of the Public Prints—and which no doubt you have either seen or been informed of.

My worthy friend Mr. G: Sharp handed to me your Tract on the Bad Effects of Using Spiritous Liquors—I recommended the Gentleman's Magazine for more general reading—and I suppose you have been informed by that Benevolent Gentleman—that it was there Printed in the Number of last September—I inclose that Part of the Magazine wch; contains the Treatise.⁶² Now you mention the American Philosophicl. Transactions—I remember—about Fifteen Years since an Hundred Copies of a Quarto Volume were sent from Philada. consigned to my late Brother & self—and I believe the whole sold—If your society intend occasionally to bring out a Volume—and have already Printed one or more Volumes since the termination of the War—and intend to send out a Parcel to try the Event of Sale in Lond;—I shall have no objection to Publish the Work—or any other Production of Character.—I am daily expecting from New York some hundred Copies of an History of the Revolution of the Southern Provinces of America—written by Dr. Ramsay—if the writer discovers too much warmth and the History is tinctured in prejudice of Party that circumstance will ruin the Sale of the Book here—I presume you must no [*sic*] something of him—he married as I am informed a daughter of Dr. Witherspoons—and his chief residence is

⁶² Rush's *Enquiry into the Effects of Spirituous Liquors upon the Human Body, and Their Influence upon the Happiness of Society* (Philadelphia, Thomas Bradford [1784]), one of the most widely influential of his many tracts, was reprinted in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, LV, pt. 2, p. 696-701 (Sept. 1785).

in Charles Town S.C.—I did intend to have sent this Letter by a private ship—but as none will go hence for a Mo. to come—I take the most ready & expeditious way by the Febry Packet—If any work of Character and Magnitude is going forward in Philadelphia you will please to let me know—I shall be glad to be informed whether the sets of Andrew Marvelles Works I gave direction about to be sold have yet been disposed off at Public Vendue—and for what sum—I think it is now about twelve months since I troubled you with a line on this business.

Hope this will meet your Family all well—My respectful Compliments to Mr Hall and to Mr. Ruston—to whom I shall write by the next Merchants Ship—that is to bring out two or thr[ee] Books for him

I am D Sir, with regard

Your faithful & obdt sert;

CHS; DILLY

By mistake of my Young Man the Postage was not Paid at the Office wh. is the reason of its being opened & now resealled—and the Post Paid.

Dear Sir,

Lond; 5 May 1786

I frequently hear of you by sundry persons—who are arriving in this City from Philadelphia—tho' I have not had the pleasure of receiving a letter from you for more than six months.

I remember Sir, about two Years ago you mentioned Dr; Gordon was preparing the Materials to write an History of the American War in its rise Progress and termination—I have amongst his friends had a letter from him on the subject and I find the Doctor is about to come over to Print it in this City—His Plan is by Subscription, and to form two Volumes in Quarto.

Dr; Ramsay is before him in one part, & indeed the most eventful part of the War—viz the Rev: in South Carolina—the Book no doubt sir, you must have seen & read almost a Year past—Some hundred sets are consigned to me but on acct; of certain expressions reflecting on the King and sundry charges of cruelty & Murder against Officers whose names are at full length, I am recommended by friends as well as the opinion of a sensible Lawyer whom I have consulted on purpose—& from their Sentiments I am forbidden to Publish as I shd. expose myself to the attacks of Crown Lawyers—and the resentment of Hot Spur Officers. The War being over the hazard of Publication might enable the criminals instead of receiving Punishment (I mean Tarlton & others of his san-

guinary cast) to call it down on the Publisher—I have no doubt of the Facts. Notwithstand[ing]—the momentary humour of the Minister—or an upstart Officer—might at any time give me trouble. Dr; Ramsay is fully informed on this head—by this time—and I am in Daily expectation to hear from him wth: instructions what to do with his Work—Some sets however have been privately sold—and a quantity shipped to Holland—indeed I have done the best I can for the interest of the Book & its author—I approve the History—and am amongst the few in this Kingdom who have seen and esteemed it faithful & well written.

Your tract on Spiritous Liquors I conveyed to the Public thro' the channel of the Gentlemans Mag[azin]e—and I think inclosed to you so much of it as contained your Thoughts on the subject—Mr. Sharpe handed it to me for that purpose & agreed with me the best manner was to convey the piece to the Pub[lic] in the way mentioned. Dr. Lettsom has expressed his surprise that he has not been favoured with a Letter from the Venerable Dr. Franklin as he flattered himself he shd. have done—soon after the Doctor arrived in your City—I suppose his great age and the usual inability to write in advanced life is the only cause.

Has the Doctor any Literary Work—that he has thoughts of giving to the world before he makes his Exit?—Of this and any thing from your Philosophical Society I shall be ready to embrace the opportunity of making Public here, and shall consider myself much obliged by your kind communication of any thing that rises from the Press of reputation in Philadelphia.

Some 15 or 18 Mo. since I trouble you to get disposed off the remainder of Andrew Marvells Works—Published by Capt. Thompson—I have not heard from you upon that business since—wch. makes me suspect either my letter miscarried or that the trifling commission had escaped your Notice.

I shall be obliged for a few lines soon after the arrival of this Epistle—May Every blessing attend you & your Family—I rest your faithful obliged servt;

CHS. DILLY

Lond; 5 July 1786

Dear Sir,

A few days since your letter was delivered to me of the 29 Aprl. with which was inclosed the Oration delivered before the Philosophical Society in Philadelphia—As you send it over corrected with a View to reprint it here—I have given the same to a Printer and I expect in a Week from

this Day I shall have it finished at Press—The corrections additions and alterations will be carefully attended to—I have advertised to Publish in a few Days—I thank you Sir, for forwarding the Tract to me—I shall readily consent to the terms Proposed—and the Gentlemen to whom you desired Copies will have them immediately as they are done up—and I shall forward some Copies to Philadelphia by the first opportunity and inform you at the same time the success of Sale.⁶³ Dr. Price was at my House Yesterday he say's you have written him a letter by the same Vessel that brought mine—I informed the Doctor I had direction from you to send him a Copy—Capt; Kennedy will return for Philadelphia the latter end of this month—and by him I shall send out a few Copies of the Oration—It will be too early Days to know what success I have had in the circulation—I conclude sir, you have communicated to Dr; Price your disapprobation of the note he added to your letter Printed in his Pamphlet—The observations written to me concerning your Private Religious opinions I shall not mention to Dr; Price but have them made Public as you have desired—I am sure so good a man as the Venerable Doctor could; not intentionally misrepresent—he may be liable to error as the best of us are sometimes mistaken.

I shall endeavour to procure a Candid Criti[c]ism of your Tract—but the Monthly Reviews are very backward—and it may not be Reviewed in that Literary Journal for Three or Four Months after Publication—The Critical Review is generally much earlier. The Collection of Tracts Physical & Literary which you are about to Print in Philadelphia & to be comprised in one 8vo; Volume I shd; suppose you might venture to send over an hundred Copies which if a little advertised and not set too dear I think the chance is that Number might be sold. Whatever Number may be sent—I think had better come in the state delivered from the Printer wch. is in sheets.⁶⁴

Dr; Ramsay's Revolution of S: Carolina in some parts of the History is too personal indeed so much so as to make it dangerous to Publish in

⁶³ *An Oration, Delivered before the American Philosophical Society, Held in Philadelphia on the 27th of February, 1786; containing an Enquiry into the Influence of Physical Causes upon the Moral Faculty* (Philadelphia, Printed; London, Reprinted for C. Dilly, 1786).

⁶⁴ The work alluded to did not appear until 1789, when it was published as *Medical Inquiries and Observations* (Philadelphia, Prichard & Hall), the first (un-numbered) volume in a series of five volumes ultimately published by Rush under this title. It was promptly reprinted in London by Dilly; see letter of 21 July 1789, below.

this Country—truths cannot always be delivered with impunity—I have no sort of doubt of the circumstances related of some Officers of high rank in the Army to be founded in Fact—but actions might be produced against the Publisher as the author is not himself on the spot to answer to the charges—I have written to Mr; Ramsay fully on the subject—I do not believe Five hundred Copies wd; sell in this Kingdom provided every advantage was given to it of Public Sale—indeed as the Work is not given complete the sale for that reason cannot be so general—as it might have been if the History had been written from its rise to the conclusion of the War.

I shall now sir, beg to notice to you the receipt of a Letter from your Brother—dated in May 1785—in which he says it wd. not be convenient to him to dismiss the demand I have against him for the Books sent over in Octr 1773—till the Xtnas following—and that a remittance shd. then be made by the first opportunity—sundry arrivals have since come in. As my friend Mr; Chew left this Place last Aprl;—who is lately called to the English Bar—I embraced the opportunity of causing the amount of the Bill & subsequent interest upon the same to be made out—and which I presume will not be conceived unreasonable to be Paid. I shall add no more on this subject—and am Dr Sir,

Your faithful & humbl servt;

CHS; DILLY

Dear Sir,

Lond: Decr; 2, 1786

I am favoured with your letter of the 26 Octr by which I perceive you have received the Three Dozen Copies of your Oration.

I shall embrace the first opportunity of sending you a Dozen or two more by the first opportunity but I do not find any Vessel goes out for Philadelphia till the ensuing spring and the first I find sails from this Port.

Dr; Lettsom mentioned to me Two or Three times of your intention of Printing a Volume of Physical and Literary Essays—and to forward Two or Three hundred Copies to this City—I conceive sir, that Number will be full enough for the London sale including what may go off in Edinr; I cannot therefore say whether it might answer to reprint the Volume here. Dr; Lettsom has his doubts whether a Number sufficient wd; be demanded to answer the Expense—as the Medical stock of New Publications are now very numerous. Respecting your undertaking a review of the Political Revolution of Pennsylvania—you must Sir, be the

best judge of the success of such an undertaking—from the nature of the subject the demand must chiefly rest in Pennsyla; and the Neighbouring States. I must frankly tell you I have little expectation the work wd; sell in this Country—But as you are requested by your friends to undertake the Work—there cannot be a doubt but it wd. answer by the sale in your Country sufficient to return expence of Paper & Print⁶⁵—Shd; you Print the Physical Essays and the Revolution—and send over 100 of each—I think I may venture say there wd; be no risque in disposing of them. As to the article sir, of Copyright—you know as well as myself that as soon as a Printed Copy of any Book from America comes into this City it is free for me or any other Books; to reprint—just the same as our Books are for the American states. We have seen by the American Prints of Dr. White being lately raised to the Episcopal Chair of Pennsylvania—he is a respectable [?deserving] gentleman and will be well received in this Country. I beg my kind Complts to worthy Dr; Hall—and I remain Dr sir,

Your faithful obdt; Servt;
CHS DILLY

P.S. Tuesday 5 Decr;

I believe it is now two years since I requested you to take the trouble to see after & dispose off the sets of A. Marvell's Works 3 Vols. Qto in boards the retail original Price of them were Three Guineas—Keep one set if you please for your trouble—and let the rest be sold by the Hammer—more or less and you will if you please enquire about the Book—or Dr Hall for you immediately—and let the person account at the rate they sell for.

Dear Sir,

Lond; 26 Feb: 1787

I think it is now near Six Months since the receipt of your last favor in which you noticed the Copies of your Oration coming to hand—I do not know how to account for the Public attention after such kind of subjects—but so it is, the demand has been very small—not Fifty of the Impressions have been sold. By this opportunity agreeable to your request—I send you a present of another Dozen—And Capt Smith takes them to his care to deliver the Parcel immediately on his arrival—

I conceived before this time you wd; have sent one or Two hundred of your Medical Tracts to be Published here on your account—As I was

⁶⁵ On Rush's proposed memoir of the American Revolution in Pennsylvania, never published, see his letter to John Adams of 22 Jan. 1789 (*Letters*, I: 499, 500).

led to expect by the last Letter it wd; be shortly Printed—I shall be glad to hear if you have any literary Production at Press—and of any consideration to receive a Copy as early as may be—I have just nearly finished a small Volume of Dr. Franklins Philosophl. Miscell; never before Printed in London; But chiefly gathered from the 2d Volume of the Philada. Transactions.—I have lately written to a Gentleman in Philada. concerning the First Volume wch. being out of Print and none to be had either in your City or here the demand for the second lately Imported to my House sells very little—nor shall I expect it untill the first is to be purchased—If the Plates to the Volume are to be had it will lessen the Expençe of the reprint in Philada.—It is Mr. Bleakley [John Bleakeley] that I wrote to on the subject—as it was by that Gentlemans suggestion the 2d Volumes were sent to my House—But the Printer erred in sending so many without having any first to send with them.—The distance of Thirteen Years wch. I think it is since the publication of the First Vol: makes a total void as it may be considered of recollection of that Volume nor are their perhaps one in 20 purchasers of that Volume now living.—I am worthy Sir,

Your faithful Obdt; servt;

CHS; DILLY

Dear Sir,

Lond; 20th July 1787

I had Printed your last Pamphlet on Capital Punishments before your letter of the 18th May reached London—I sent out Two Copies of it by Mr. Eff. Lawrence and a Dozen more to the care of a friend of Mr. Barton's and I believe goes in the same ship that conveys this letter to you.⁶⁶

I think it very extraordinary in the Gentlemen who are concerned in the direction of the Philada. Philosophical Transactn. that they shd. alter their resolution of reprinting the first Volume, without the assistance of this Volume the second does not sell—I was given to understand about three months since by Mr. Bleakley that I was to Print it here and the Society wd; Engage to take 150 or 200. I will not Print the Volume unless 150 or 200 are really ordered—and then what I may be able to sell in England will about repay me my expenses—I expect nor desire more.

⁶⁶ The work alluded to was *An Enquiry into the Effects of Public Punishments upon Criminals, and upon Society* . . . (Philadelphia, Printed; London, Reprinted for C. Dilly, 1787).

I have or any other Books; in this Country an undoubted right to reprint the first Volume—but the sale of it in England alone will by no means return the charges of Paper & Print—In Case Two Hundred Copies are engaged for—I will then keep all the second Volumes—and shall likely order a few more—which if wanted I apprehend are to be had and I shall be glad to be informed by the first opportunity as I shall if no more are to be had contract the number of the First Volume provided I shd. think proper to reprint it.

I am Sir, very sincerely

Your obliged friend & humbl. servt;

CHS; DILLY

Monday 23 July 1787

P.S. Since Writing my letter—a Packet by the Ruby Capt Smith has been delivered to my care for Dr. Price—and I sent the same to him Yesterday—

Dear Sir,

Lond: 21st July 1789

I recd. a few days ago the acct. of Sale & the product on the sets of A. Marvels Works—It was delvd to me by Mr. Philips of Manchester—I was agt. sending them to N America knowing such an expensive Work wd. not sell to advantage there—I perceive the Return for the Copies sold deducting the Freight & Packing in a case wch. was paid in London, the balance does not yield the Price of Waste Paper—

I inclosed a Volume of your Medical Tracts the beginning of last Month in my friend Mr. Consul Bonds Parcel and I presume you have received it—Agreeable to my Promise *Two* Dozen are now shipped for you in boards & a receipt for the Parcel—I cannot yet say whether I shall sell enough [*sic*] to return expenses but in time I hope to find myself reimbursed—As to your Oration I have sold very few—But at your instance—I sent an hundred for Sale to your City—Pray have any of them and what Number may there have been sold[?] I think you shd. inform me and if the Bookseller who had the care of them has received any thing—an acct; shd; be rendered to me—and to prevent the forgetfulness by hurry in business—you had better inform yourself on the perusal of this letter and favor me with a line on the business by the next opportunity to this place—

I am Sir,

Your obdt; Svt;

CH DILLY

Dr Sir,

Lond; 2d Sept. 1794

I have heard previous to the arrival of your Book on the Yellow Fever in Philada. Much controversy had been occasioned in the different Treatment of the disorder amongst the Faculty.⁶⁷

Dr; Lettsom informs me that the Great Professor of Physic in Hanover Dr. Zimmerman has written to him on the subject & Dr. Lettsom has written a long Letter in Answer and a Promise to send him your Book and I presume he has now performed his Promise—Mr. Dobson sent over Five hundred—two hundred of them are by his desire gone to Mr. P.[?] Hill of Edinburgh⁶⁸—I have advertised and Published the Book to the Trade—but as it has gone forth only about a Fortnight—I cannot so well judge of the demand. Upwards of an hundred are sold—but the best proof of sale will be upon a second demand from the Booksellers who first buy the Half Dozens—I have informed the Young Gentleman Mr. Coxe if I find the Three hundred go off speedily I shall in that Case apply to him for the corrected Copy wch. you mention in your Letter—On acct. of late indisposition I have been moving in & out of Town during this summer and am going out for Three or Four Weeks in a few days after wch. I shall attend to your Recommendation of Mr; Coxe and Mr Edw Fisher. This last Young Gentleman I have not yet seen—I suppose on my return I shall find them in London—tho' Mr. Coxe says he shall shortly set off for Edinburgh—I am

D Sir,

Your faithful—Humbl. servt.

CH DILLY

Dear Sir,

London 6 Jan: 1795

Thro' the Visits at this season of the Year and the Expected returns—I have been prevented seeing Mr; Bayard—besides I find myself less disposed to be frequently in Company the fatigue being too much—no man in business felt an higher gratification in receiving his friends at Table than I have in times past done—but I find a material difference now that I am arrived to my Fifty fifth Year. You sir, are not far short, for I well remember when first I came acquainted with you in Philadelphia in 1764

⁶⁷ Rush's book was *An Account of the Bilious Remitting Yellow Fever, as It Appeared in the City of Philadelphia, in the Year 1793* . . . (Philadelphia, Thomas Dobson, 1794); it was reprinted by Dilly in 1795.

⁶⁸ Not certainly identifiable; the initial letter of Hill's given name is a scrawl. A Peter Hill is listed as a bookseller in the Edinburgh directories of the period.

I had just finished my apprenticeship—and I think the following year your articleship with Dr; Redman expired; and you visited this Country⁶⁹—I recollect one of your acquaintance Dr; Miller [John Millar] who is yet resident in London I hope in suitable circumstance—Tho' if the aid of his profession be required, I fear his Practice is a slender help. I find you are to appear in the spring with a New Volume on the Yellow fever—several authors have written on the subject—Three from the West Indies—one of whom you will perceive is Printed at my House—and next Week the Volume is to be finished at Press. I shall send a few Copies to my correspondents in your City.⁷⁰

I have Mr Bayards address and purpose to wait on him in a few days to fix the first day when I have a small party of Literary friends to ask him to make one of the company. I wish you the Compliments of the Season and much consolation with your Family thro' this & many succeeding New Year[s]—and remain

Dr Sir, with sincere regard,

Your faithful obdt servt.

CHS; DILLY

Out of the Three hundred of your Volumes of the Yellow Fever there are 200 sold and I hope the Third will in time go—The second Volume of Medical Inquiries has sold very indifferently⁷¹—

Dr Sr,

Monday Ev: 2 Novr: 95

I wrote by the last Packet to send an hundred of the second Edition of your Treatise on the Yellow Fever—since which have arrived a few days ago sixty or seventy Copies from Edinr. wch will now supply the demand here without your needing to send a fresh quantity over of the second Edition—I therefore hope none have been shipped—and I send this notice to prevent the inconvenience of sending any more—as the Copies from Mr. Hill of Edinburgh will most likely answer the demand—I find on

⁶⁹ Rush was apprenticed to Dr. John Redman from 1761 to 1766. From late 1766 to the fall of 1768 he studied at Edinburgh. He was in London from the fall of 1768 through the spring of 1769 except for a brief visit to Paris.

⁷⁰ Attached to the letter is a newspaper clipping announcing publication by Dilly on 30 Jan. of C. Chisholm's *Essay on the Malignant Pestilential Fever Introduced into the West Indian Islands from Boullam, on the Coast of Guinea . . .*, with an advertisement also of Rush's treatise on yellow fever.

⁷¹ This was Rush's *Medical Inquiries and Observations*, II, published by Dobson in Philadelphia in 1793; evidently Dilly had imported copies for sale in England.

enquiry there are Eighty Copies and as the troops to the West Indies are at length gone off and the officers in course sailed—the sale of yours as well as Dr; Chisholm's is nearly perfect—Dr. Lettsom is on the point of Death; and I fear to Morrow he will breath his last—An Inflamitory Fever is the disorder.

I am Sir,

Your most Obdt: servt.

CH DILLY

Wed. Morning the 4th; Nov. Dr; Sims who has attend[ed] Dr. L. daily & thro' the Nights says their are favorable hope of his recovery but is not out of danger.

Cope's Tobacco Plant: An Episode in Victorian Journalism

By RICHARD D. ALTICK

SOME day someone is going to write a book about nineteenth-century English trade journals, a deed which may well enrich our knowledge of Victorian social history. There was much more in those papers than commercial gossip and dry details about current trade conditions and technological advances. We should not expect such a history, however, to be of great interest to the student of literary taste. Books and commerce mixed scarcely more easily then than they do now. But to that generalization there is at least one conspicuous exception—a Liverpool tobacco firm's trade- and customers'-organ which was also a very respectable literary review. If the contents of *Cope's Tobacco Plant*, "A Monthly Periodical Interesting," as its subtitle said, "to the Manufacturer, the Dealer, and the Smoker," are a reliable index of the cultural level of later Victorian tobacco-users, they were a select lot indeed. Although its editor possibly overestimated the tastes of his readers, the periodical had a successful run of eleven years, and in its time it was as much discussed as those of its contemporaries whose names are more familiar to us today.¹

Cope's Tobacco Plant was published by the firm of Cope Brothers and Company, of Lord Nelson Street, Liverpool. Volume

¹ The compiler of the section on nineteenth-century periodicals in the *Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature* did the *Tobacco Plant* justice by including it on the same page (III: 830) which contains entries for the *Fortnightly*, the *Contemporary*, *Tinsley's*, *St. Paul's*, and the *Nineteenth Century*. But the paper paid for the honor by having its life reduced, in the CBEL record, from eleven years to a mere four.

One, Number One appeared on March 30, 1870, and the periodical came out monthly thereafter. The first volume was completed with Number 83 in February, 1877, the total number of pages (including occasional supplements) running to 1,012. Volume Two ended with the number for January, 1881, which also marked the sudden and unexplained demise of the paper. Each issue comprised twelve double-columned pages, thirteen inches high and printed on good coated paper, with frequent illustrations. Produced on Cope's own premises by John Fraser, it was distributed through tobacconists, newsagents, and railway book-stalls, for a brief period at the price of a penny but during most of its career for twopence. Subscribers received it by mail for two shillings a year. The circulation of the first number "largely exceeded" 10,000 copies; unfortunately we do not know what the later figures were.² The printer, John Fraser, was also the editor of the *Tobacco Plant*. That he was an unusually shrewd and enterprising journalist, as well as a man of catholic literary tastes, can be inferred from the contents of his periodical, and it is too bad that we know so little about him. All that I have been able to discover is that he was in earlier life the captain of an ocean-going Liverpool steamer who took over the printing business of his father when the latter was permanently incapacitated by illness.

The names of some of his contributors may be recognized by students of very minor Victorian letters. One was Tom Hood the younger, whose death was lamented in a black-bordered obituary box in the issue for December, 1874. Another was William Maccall, who had been a Unitarian minister in Lancashire

² None of the original records of the enterprise appear to survive. The secretary of the Cope firm wrote to the late A. E. Culpin, of Wirral, Cheshire, on October 23, 1948: "When we closed down our own printing presses, John Fraser, Junior, commenced business on his own account as a printer and would no doubt have been in possession of some of the original matter relating to these publications. At his death, his business was taken over by Messrs. Hill & Reeder of this city [Liverpool]. . . . Unfortunately, their premises were very badly damaged by enemy action during the war and all their records destroyed."

in the 1830's and then gravitated to London, where he was for decades a busy hack journalist and the author of a number of now-forgotten books.³ A third was William Gordon Stables, M.D., R.N., the author, according to the *British Museum Catalogue* and his obituary in the *Athenaeum* (May 14, 1910), of many scores of books for boys and a number on popular science, medicine, and cycling. And a fourth was Llewellynn F. W. Jewitt, a leading Victorian antiquary, illustrator, and editor for a time of the *Derby Telegraph*, who published a long list of books, mainly on antiquarian subjects, and whose many contributions to the *Tobacco Plant* were largely on the antiquarian lore of pipes, snuff-boxes, and tobaccoconists' signs.

The one contributor who won an enduring place in literary history was James Thomson ("B.V."). It is not at all impossible that but for the periodical's acceptance of his work, Thomson would have starved. In 1875 he broke away from Bradlaugh's *National Reformer*, for which he had been writing for several years—"The City of Dreadful Night" had appeared there in the spring of 1874—and found himself with no means of support. A few months later, introduced to Fraser by his friend Maccall, he began his contributions to the *Tobacco Plant*, which, as Thomson's latest biographer says, was "his steadiest and best market," paying punctually for his work. Several times during the six years of his connection with the magazine, when he was more hard up than usual, he asked for and received advances from Fraser.⁴

Sometimes anonymously, sometimes over the signature "Sigvat," sometimes over his initials, but never over his full name

³ Carlyle gives a vivid picture of him—"a poor Scotchman named Maccall, who is in very bad case just now"—in a letter to his mother, February 13, 1853; *New Letters of Thomas Carlyle*, ed. Alexander Carlyle (London, 1904), II: 144-45.

⁴ Imogene B. Walker, *James Thomson (B.V.): A Critical Study* (Ithaca, N. Y., Cornell University Press, 1950), pp. 124-26. Excerpts from Thomson's diaries and letters referring to his work for the *Tobacco Plant* are found also in the biographies by Henry S. Salt and Bertram Dobell.

(perhaps because his notoriety as a free thinker would have embarrassed the magazine?), Thomson supplied the *Tobacco Plant* with essays, articles, and reviews. On the strictly nicotian side there were such articles, obviously the result of hard work in his favorite haunt, the British Museum, as "Tobacco Smuggling in the Last Generation" (seven instalments), "Tobacco Legislation in the Three Kingdoms" (a long series of articles, in great part nothing but dreary summaries extracted from the State Papers), and "The Tobacco Duties." One need not imagine that such work was done *con amore*, although Thomson did conform to the one article of faith required of the *Tobacco Plant's* contributors, a steady devotion to the weed. But since, as will become quite clear before we have finished, John Fraser was extraordinarily hospitable to material of literary interest, Thomson supplied him with some of his best critical writing: a fourteen-part essay on Ben Jonson, shorter ones on St. Amant, Rabelais, John Wilson and the *Noctes Ambrosianae*, James Hogg, and George Meredith. In addition, he reviewed a number of volumes in the English Men of Letters series.⁵

But it is the *Tobacco Plant* itself, rather than Thomson's connection with it, that concerns us here. In its first years it gave most of its space to news of interest to tobacco manufacturers and dealers—announcements of patents, classified advertisements, articles on the hated excise tax, descriptions of improvements in tobacco culture, and so forth. Later such material became less and less prominent; the advertisements (except for those of

⁵ Some forty brief extracts from these contributions were published as "Selections from Original Contributions by James Thomson to *Cope's Tobacco Plant*" (*Cope's Smoke Room Booklets*, No. 3, 1889). A number of the essays were reprinted in their entirety in volumes of Thomson's prose. For a general discussion of his contributions to the *Tobacco Plant*, see Miss Walker's biography, pp. 139-41, 144. Except for the omission of the reviews of the English Men of Letters volumes, Miss Walker's list of Thomson's contributions (pp. 191-92 in her volume) seems complete. With the exception noted, it tallies in every respect with my own list, made independently in 1948, and includes one or two items overlooked by David Worcester when he compiled the bibliography appended to his unpublished Harvard dissertation on Thomson (1934).

Cope's own products, which, understandably, persisted to the last), the lists of patents, and the other more specialized information disappeared quite early, and the columns which remained dedicated to the trade featured articles like Thomson's on the history of tobacco smuggling and legislation.

The chief purpose of the paper was made plain in the very first issue: "As we desire to interest the SMOKER, as well as the TRADER, we have arranged for lighter contributions—as Stories, Verse, and Anecdote,—which we trust will furnish the CONSUMER with a VADE MECUM and a PASTIME-BOOK for those hours of ease in which he enjoys his favourite luxury." In our own decadent day, the tobacco habit is so nearly universal that it requires a slight adjustment for us to remember that seventy years ago smokers were something of a class apart. Following the august examples of Tennyson and Carlyle, they took their smoking seriously; they were, in a way, cultists. And, like all cultists, they wanted to read everything that was even remotely connected with the object of their devotion. From the very inception of the paper, therefore, the editor cast a wide net for passages in books, old and new, newspaper and magazine pieces, and original contributions—anything that would make the *Tobacco Plant* live up to its announced ideal of being "the organ of Tobacco use and Tobacco sentiment." Tobacco was considered in its historical, geographical, ethnological, societal, physiological, literary, and every other conceivable relation; the periodical became, indeed, a monthly encyclopedia of nicotian learning. It discussed the history of tobacconists' signboards and advertisements; it gave a recipe for tooth powder made of cigar ashes; it uttered severe strictures on the practice of tobacconists' selling explosive cigars; it advised on the care of pipes and the social manners of smokers; it ran descriptive essays on various restaurants, such as Simpson's in London, where smoking was an amenity to be enjoyed along with good food and drink; it thundered its disapproval of

the use of tobacco shops as fronts for places of gaudier entertainment—a practice first reported from New York, but later admitted to be not unknown in Liverpool, where also “Coquettes and Cigarettes” were occasionally available under the same roof.

Seventy years before the *Reader's Digest*, the *Tobacco Plant* was troubled by allegations of the deleterious effect upon the human organism of smoking, chewing, and taking snuff. Its duty to its readers, of course, was clear. The American exchanges which poured onto the editor's desk with the arrival of every Atlantic steamer provided him with plenty of reports of centenarians who attributed their longevity to a practically immemorial addiction to tobacco. And whenever an English medical man published a treatise in which he proved the harmlessness of the habit, he was assured of ample attention in the *Tobacco Plant*. Sometimes, it is true, in its zeal to preserve at least a semblance of impartiality, the periodical had to give space to physicians who came to the opposite conclusion; but it always appended an editorial note attempting to expose the weaknesses in such arguments, and, when the weapons of logic and scientific knowledge failed, taking refuge in the claim that “we can't make head or tail of what Dr. So-and-so is trying to say.”⁶

A great deal of the miscellaneous material which filled up the odd space in every issue came from America, with which, as the homeland of the precious commodity, the *Tobacco Plant* was always on cordial terms. The American newspapers and magazines, and above all the *Tobacco Plant's* opposite number, the New York

⁶ Connoisseurs of modern techniques of cigarette advertising may well ponder over the exquisite moderation displayed in an advertisement of “Cope's Cigaretos” in the number for August, 1875: “These Cigaretos are made from a peculiar kind of Oriental Tobacco, which we ourselves import. The smoking of this Tobacco is said to give relief in cases of Asthma. It will be most interesting to us to know if the Tobacco does possess the peculiar property attributed to it; and, with the view to proper investigation, we are willing to supply, post free and without charge, to Medical Gentlemen, Packets of these Cigaretos for experiment. We do not require or expect in return any letter or certificate for advertising purposes, but we shall be glad to receive a private and confidential note of result from any who take an interest in the question.”

Tobacco Leaf, furnished the editor with all the curious news items, anecdotes, and jokes he needed. A talented hen in Pittsfield, Massachusetts, which specialized in laying eggs shaped like an Irishman's clay pipe, was good for a paragraph. So were the difficulties which were reported to have ensued when a trolley line in New York put on special smoking cars. And in both England and America tobacco seems to have been, in the 1870's, as inexhaustible a peg upon which to hang a witticism as Fords were in the 1920's and television in the '50's. The following examples, taken at random, are, I am afraid, entirely typical of the thousands Cope's printed: "OUTRAGING THE SEX.—A lady who has a great horror of tobacco got into a railroad car the other day, and inquired of a male neighbour, 'Do you chew tobacco, sir?' 'No, madam, I don't,' was the reply, 'but I can get you a chew if you want one.'" And: "HOW TO PUT ON HIGH AIRS.—Become accustomed to 'see garrets' (cigarettes)."

The *Tobacco Plant* thus was devoted to a cause—that of encouraging class feeling among smokers by reminding them not only of the mellow delights of the habit they shared but also of the way in which tobacco permeated history (at least in the post-Raleighian centuries) and was ubiquitous, the unfailing subject of rhapsodic comment and pleasant mirth, in the present day. But the magazine's rôle as propagandist did not end there. For there was abroad in the land a band of sanctimonious busybodies known as the Anti-Tobacco Society, intent upon carrying on the work initiated in 1604 by a crowned king of England in a work called *A Counter Blaste to Tobacco*. The *Tobacco Plant* deemed it proper that the vociferations of the reformers against tobacco should be met with "a few animated words . . . in its vindication." The "few animated words" ran to at least a thousand in every issue. With heavy humor the men of Cope's provided their readers with a running account of the doings of the Anti-Tobacco Society—taking up a subscription to ease the declining years of



Entered at Stationers' Hall

Printed by J. W. Smith, Stationers' Hall, London

the society's underpaid agent, offering to atone for the perennially expected demise of the society's paper by giving over a column of each *Tobacco Plant* to the Anti-Tobaccoites' purposes, and publishing detailed (and not wholly trustworthy!) narratives of the society's meetings written by "our special correspondent." The paper's satire ranged from an interminable series of labored fictional pieces signed "Didimus Goggs" to a full-page prospectus of the "Anti-Teapot Association," including a long "Address to the Public" which detailed all the horrors that attended the habit of tea-drinking. That the battle was not won in the *Tobacco Plant's* lifetime is attested by the fact that in the 1890's its successor, *Cope's Smoke Room Booklets*, still had to fire away at the obstinate enemy. The frontispiece of Number Nine (1893) showed a stained-glass triptych, in each of whose panels appeared the figure of the anti-nicotinist who had long since become familiar to the Cope audience through the exertions of the *Tobacco Plant* artist: a clergyman with umbrella, long ulster, gaiters, big feet, and pious mien—the direct forbear of the lugubrious prohibitionists drawn by Rollin Kirby twenty-five years ago. The three versions of the same figure were labelled "Chadband," "Pecksniff," and "Stiggins." Above them was unfolded a scroll bearing what the Cope people, at least, maintained was the Anti-Tobacco Society's motto: "The Pig Smoketh Not, Neither Doth the Ass"—and to make the representation explicit beyond doubt, there duly appeared portraits of the non-smoking pig and the anti-nicotian ass, whose features had something in common with those of the human beings depicted below.

But it was not this crusade against cant, instructive as it sometimes may be to the student of Victorian satire, which gave the *Tobacco Plant* its distinctive flavor. If it was, as James Thomson said, "one of the most daring and original publications of the day," it was so for the reason he assigned: "It actually loves literature, though it has to make this subordinate to the Herb Di-

vine." Its love for literature was somewhat more inclusive than discriminating, but there can be no question that it was genuine. The same may be said, doubtless, for the tastes of its readers. In the first two or three years of its existence, the *Tobacco Plant* went in heavily for verse, devoting two or three columns in every issue to an anthology of metrical praise of tobacco, half of it lifted from printed sources from the late sixteenth century onward, the other half the work of the magazine's own contributors and readers. The entire issue for January, 1872, was devoted to what the *New Yorker* would call poesy—the result of a prize competition for "epigrams for tobacco jars." Nearly seven hundred entries were received, and from them the editors selected enough to fill nineteen tall columns. The quality of the effusions need not be commented upon here. In fairness, however, it should be added that the editors deliberately printed "a few of the worst only for their eccentricity, or extreme badness, as a caution to persons afflicted with *cacoëthes scribendi*; whilst others still are presented as specimens of our enemies' rabid outpourings of bigotry and bile." After this debauch the *Tobacco Plant* quietly reduced the incidence of verse in its pages, although to the very end few issues appeared without at least one poem.

But John Fraser had higher ambitions. Not satisfied with printing crumbs of tobacco-connected lore from old and current publications and from the pens of his readers, he determined to commission and print serious articles on books and their writers, his only condition being that somehow, however obscure or forced the connection might be, some allusion should be made to smoking. If the writer under discussion lived before tobacco was introduced into Europe, the article could be blandly rationalized by a preliminary comment lamenting that he never knew the joys of smoking.

Leafing through the two stout bound volumes of the *Tobacco Plant*, one is charmed by the ingenuity of the paper's contribu-

tors in finding nicotian tie-ups almost at random in English literature. An article on "Charles Lamb as a Smoker" in the issue for July, 1870, and a follow-up piece by Tom Hood, Junior, on "Lamb's Farewell to Tobacco" were sufficient to establish Lamb's orthodoxy, and no further allusion to his smoking habits was necessary; thereafter nothing Elian was foreign to the paper. It was no strain on the *Tobacco Plant's* policy, therefore, to print (June and July, 1875) "The Sayings of Charles Lamb," a collection intended to supplement R. H. Shepherd's newly issued edition of Lamb's works, as well as some additions by Alexander Ireland. In the numbers for April and July, 1871, we find "Famous Smokers: I. Thomas Carlyle" and "II. Alfred Tennyson, Poet Laureate"—which, despite the general title and a few passing comments to justify it, were really literary appreciations. The Christmas number for the same year contained "The Sentimental Snuff-Box," an extract from *The Sentimental Journey*. During the summer of 1872 appeared three articles on Thackeray and tobacco, which were succeeded by three on "The Poet Cowper and Tobacco." When *Erewhon* was published in 1872, its author's well-known addiction entitled him to a review, headed, naturally, "A Smoking Satirist." From August to December of 1873, the *Tobacco Plant* ran a five-part survey of "Tobacco in the Waverley Novels." In the same fashion Dickens was discussed ("Dickens as a Nicotian"—four full columns in the issue for May, 1874), and Parson Adams and even Dr. Syntax. The roster of James Thomson's contributions includes essays on "Charles Baudelaire on Hasheesh" and "Théophile Gautier as Hasheesh-Eater," and no less than seven of the fourteen installments of his critical account of Ben Jonson are devoted to "Tobacco and Jonson."⁷

As time went on, even a token insistence upon some mention

⁷ He could even write about opera—so long as the opera had some relation with tobacco, as did *Carmen*, which he discussed in February, 1879.

of tobacco in the literary material was dispensed with, and a pleasant allusion to smoking was no more *de rigueur* in an article contributed to the *Tobacco Plant* than it was in one intended for the *Academy*. Although each issue continued to have much material specifically referring to tobacco, its history, its sentiment, and its current place on the social scene, the remaining columns were indistinguishable from those appearing in avowedly literary journals. In 1875-76, for instance, there was a long series of articles on Ruskin's *Fors Clavigera*—a noteworthy evidence of the *Tobacco Plant's* toleration, as Ruskin was well known to despise tobacco.⁸ In March, 1874, appeared a four-column review of Forster's *Life of Dickens*, in which the reviewer, "An Old University Man," characterized the work as "a desert of Dame Quickly garrulities . . . twaddle . . . toadyism . . . ridiculous trumpery." A regular department, "The Smoke Room Table," instituted in March, 1876, reviewed current books, especially those of literary importance. Every volume in the English Men of Letters series published between 1876 and 1880 received notice here. At least six of the volumes—Forster's *Swift*, Morison's *Gibbon*, Shairp's *Burns*, Church's *Spenser*, Symonds' *Shelley*, and Morley's *Burke*—were reviewed by Thomson, and it is possible that he was responsible for notices of other titles in the same series. Whoever wrote them, the reviews of the English Men of Letters volumes were generally uncomplimentary.

Probably the most startling announcement in the whole file of the *Tobacco Plant* appeared in its issue for January, 1874. Since there was an obvious affinity, said the editor, "between the lovers of old books, irreverently called Bibliomaniacs, and Tobacco," the magazine would institute the practice of reviewing

⁸ Number 13 of the *Smoke Room Booklets* (1893), "John Ruskin on Himself and Things in General," consisted of a six-page introduction by Walter Lewin followed by fifty pages of quotations from Ruskin's writings, chiefly *Fors Clavigera*. "This publication was the subject of proceedings in the Chancery Division before Mr. Justice Stirling on November 24, 1893, Messrs. Cope submitting to an order for a perpetual injunction." (Cook and Wedderburn's edition of Ruskin, XXXVIII: 115.)

reprints of old and scarce books as they issued from the press. The practice was not actually begun until the June issue, but once started, it lasted until the end of 1878, when (it is just possible) the editor reluctantly concluded that he had misjudged his clientèle. But during those four and a half years the tenth page of each monthly issue contained notices of books of interest to collectors and literary antiquarians. Among many other items, we discover reviews of Arber's edition of the Stationers' Register; the Roxburghe Library; the Arber English Reprints; the Fuller Worthies Library; the publications of the Hunterian Club, the Holbein Society, the Philobiblon Society, the English Dialect Society, the New Shakespeare Society, and the Early English Text Society. Such notices were not limited to books recently published; in many instances, such as those of the publications of printing societies, the whole run of volumes was retrospectively summarized.

The *Tobacco Plant* shared to the full the current English excitement over American writers. It gave generous space to reviews of American books, two full columns, for instance, to the "Danbury News Man's" *Life in Danbury* (1873) and even more to the 1871 edition of the Hans Breitmann ballads.⁹ Mark Twain was represented (December, 1870) by a sketch called "Mark Twain Tells About a Pipe"—reprinted, without acknowledgment, from the New York *Galaxy*, October, 1870, where it was called "A Curious Relic for Sale"—and (December, 1871) by "The Anti-Tobaccoite: a Sketch from Life," which had earlier appeared, though the *Tobacco Plant* failed to say so, as one of the "Answers to Correspondents" ("Moral Statistician") in the *Jumping Frog* volume. John Hay's "Jim Bludso" was picked up from the New York *Tribune* in the *Tobacco Plant* issue for April,

⁹ Clarence Gohdes, in the bibliography of his *American Literature in Nineteenth-Century England* (New York, Columbia University Press, 1944), lists the principal reviews, but none of the excerpts from the writings of the authors themselves which I discuss here.

1871.¹⁰ In June, 1871, a full page, adorned with original drawings, was devoted to "Breitmann's Rauch-Lied," signed "Charles Godfrey Leland, London, March 16, 1871"—a fragment of the Breitmann canon not included in the standard editions. In the same issue appeared "The Fate of a Fighting Dog" by Bret Harte, a five-stanza poem which I have been unable to locate elsewhere.

It has always been known, of course, that the second of James Thomson's discerning critical discussions of Walt Whitman was written for the *Tobacco Plant*. Bertram Dobell recorded that this essay is incomplete "owing to the fact that the *Tobacco Plant* was discontinued after the fifth section of 'Walt Whitman' had appeared in it. Two other sections were written, but these unfortunately cannot now be recovered."¹¹ But it is not often remembered that it was in the *Tobacco Plant* that two bits of Whitman's own writing first appeared. One was "Three Young Men's Deaths," which was printed in the issue for April, 1879. Composed of three sections—one a letter to his mother, dated July 28, 1863, which properly belongs in the *Wound Dresser* series, the second an obituary of a fireman which had already been printed in the *Camden New Republic* for November 14, 1874, and the third a letter from John Burroughs—"Three Young Men's Deaths" found its way three years later into the *Specimen Days* volume.¹² Whitman's other contribution was the poem "The

¹⁰ The editor noted: "'Jim Bludso' is by a hitherto unknown author in this country, and, sooner than our readers should be deprived of the pleasure of perusing it, we have struck out an advertisement. To print 'Jim Bludso' has caused our exchequer a loss of about £50." But one suspects that it was only a paper loss, as the cancelled advertisement probably was for Cope's own products.

¹¹ *Walt Whitman: the Man and the Poet* (London, 1910), p. xxxiv. Dobell made the error, in which he was followed by Harold Blodgett (*Walt Whitman in England* [Ithaca, N. Y., Cornell University Press, 1934], p. 153), of assigning the essay to the years 1881-82. Actually it ran in the *Tobacco Plant* in May, June, August, September, and December, 1880.

¹² Clara Barrus (*Whitman and Burroughs, Comrades* [Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1931], p. 179) quotes a letter from Whitman to Burroughs, June 11, 1879: "I send you the 'Tobacco Plant' with a piece of mine [which] will interest you. (You'll

Dalliance of the Eagles," printed by Cope's in November, 1880, and later absorbed into the seventh edition of *Leaves of Grass*. John Fraser seems to have been an early Whitman enthusiast; it was he who gave Thomson "the latest two-volume edition" of the poet in 1879 and "requested some articles on him."¹³ No doubt he himself asked Whitman for those contributions; at least, we know that the two men corresponded. Thomson told William Michael Rossetti in a letter dated April 7, 1880, that "Whitman wrote to Fraser . . . that he never smokes; but added that he likes to carry good cigars for his friends."¹⁴

An annual feature of the *Tobacco Plant*, to which its readers must have looked eagerly forward, was its highly topical and mildly satirical "Christmas card," a reprint, in a special supplement to the February number, of a lithographed advertisement issued and distributed separately to tobacconists at the holiday season. The Christmas card was patently inspired by the "Coming K—" lampoons which began appearing in *Beeton's Christmas Annual* in 1872, but its tone was inoffensive indeed in comparison with the scurrility of the "Coming K—" series.¹⁵ The first of the Cope series, issued at Christmas, 1873, and appearing in the *Tobacco Plant* two months later, was "The Panorama of the Pipe Fumes," a crowded drawing containing caricatures of the men most talked about in England during 1873—most of them smoking pipes or cigars with obvious relish. Among the celebrities remembered today are the Tichborne Claimant, D. D. Home (the American spiritualist anathematized by Browning in "Mr. Sludge, the Medium"), Victor Emanuel, Disraeli, Mark Twain,

see I have used one of your letters of last winter.)—How nicely those English get up their print things."

¹³ Thomson to Bertram Dobell, October 19, 1879; quoted by Henry S. Salt, *The Life of James Thomson* (London, 1889), p. 138.

¹⁴ Quoted by Salt, p. 152.

¹⁵ On the notorious "Coming K—" series, see Michael Sadleir, *XIX Century Fiction: A Bibliographical Record* . . . (London, Constable; Berkeley, University of California Press, 1951), II: 27-30.

Ruskin (addressing a gathering of "cheap-shaggy" workmen, with an overturned locomotive in the background to attest the effectiveness of his discourse), Trollope, Longfellow, Froude, Dion Boucicault, Browning, Swinburne, and Tennyson ("the most sweetly favoured poet of the time and best of smokers"). And—since Cope's could never let their friends forget the existence of the insidious Anti-Tobacco Society, threatening their most cherished pastime—into the design was worked a portrayal of the latest victory of the Crusader and the Jester over the anti-nicotian Pecksniffs, Chadbands, and Stigginses.

The card for 1874, reprinted in February, 1875 ("Cope," the editor commented, "celebrates Christmas *after* its time, which nobody ever thought of doing before"), introduced a new set of *literati*, among them "Wreathless" Tupper, George Cruikshank (astride a barrel and holding a tankard—a wry allusion to his many years of activity in behalf of total abstinence), F. C. Burnand, Charles Kingsley, Dean Stanley, Miss Braddon, Herbert Spencer, Matthew Arnold, George Henry Lewes, and W. E. H. Lecky. The happiest hit in this drawing was the conjunction of Byron with Henry Ward Beecher, whose involvement in the Tilton scandal had been titillating newspaper readers on both sides of the Atlantic. "The real Nemesis of prosaic life," commented the gloss, "avenges the libel perpetrated upon Lord Byron by Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe, by accumulating upon her brother's head charges as heinous as those with which it pleased her to kick the carcass of the deceased lion."

The literary flavor of the next supplement, "Prophetic Calendar for 1876," whose central topic was the Prince of Wales' visit to India, was less marked. Again there appeared the caricatures of half-a-hundred men and women who "made the news," and among them, signifying the great popular literary events of the year, were Ouida, John Hay, Hans Breitmann, Bret Harte, and George du Maurier—along with Moody,

Sankey, Barnum, and three composers: "The first is the Musician of the Past, for it was of him the Ghost of Hamlet's Father spoke, when he exclaimed—'Liszt! Liszt! O Liszt!' The second is the Musician of the Present; for, though he be banished daily, he is Offenbach. And the third is Wagner, the Musician of the Future, whom the Liszteners would willingly relegate, with his compositions, to Posterity."

The supplement for 1877, "Cope's Arctic Card," representing the arrival of the North Pole in England, while as richly topical as its predecessors, has no literary interest. But two of the remaining Christmas cards—which are not included in the files of the *Tobacco Plant* I have examined, having been offered to subscribers separately—are of some importance because the letter-press was the work of James Thomson. The one for 1878 was "The Pilgrimage of St. Nicotine of the Holy Herb," a twenty-nine-page pamphlet of topical verse in Chaucerian style, and that for 1879 was "The Pursuit of Diva Nicotina," a burlesque of Sir Noel Paton's *Pursuit of Pleasure*.¹⁶

The *Tobacco Plant* expired in January, 1881. A decade later, however, Cope's thriftily put some of the best of its contents to new use, in a series of fourteen *Smoke Room Booklets* issued from 1889 to 1893. A generous selection of verse and prose in praise of tobacco, some written especially for the periodical and the rest drawn from the works of various recognized authors from Isaac Hawkins Browne onward, was given in "The Smoker's Text-Book" and three pamphlets called "The Smoker's Garland." "Amber: All About It," by J. G. Haddow, was based on materials collected by William Maccall and printed in the *Tobacco Plant*. "Cope's Mixture" was an anthology of excerpts from the column of that name which had run in the magazine during most of its career and which on occasion had been written by Thomson—a *causerie* on nicotian matters suggested in most cases

¹⁶ On these, see Salt's biography, pp. 135-36 and 249, and Miss Walker's study, p. 140.

by some bit of recent news or newspaper comment. Three other *Smoke Room Booklets* collected the curious material the *Tobacco Plant* had printed on pipes in America, Asia, Africa, Europe, and England. And, true to the bold tradition of the original publication, the series devoted several numbers to literary subjects. Number Three was a selection from the contributions of Thomson himself. Number Four presented "Charles Lamb in Pipefuls," generous extracts from Elia's letters and table-talk; Number Five was "Thomas Carlyle: Table Talk," with a prefatory poem by Richard LeGallienne; and Number Thirteen was the ill-fated garland of quotations from Ruskin alluded to above.

In sum, the publishing activities of the firm of Cope form an honorable little chapter in the history of Victorian journalism. At a time when, in the view of many observers, England was "shooting Niagara" culturally as well as politically, with the proliferation of cheap newspapers and magazines frankly designed to strike the lowest common denominator of popular taste, the *Tobacco Plant* did its substantial bit to maintain a lively interest in literary topics among ordinary middle-class readers. Seldom, before or since, could an Englishman get as much good reading matter for his twopence. Presumably Cope's regarded their publications as a sound advertising investment; otherwise they would not have supported the *Tobacco Plant* for eleven years. What would happen in our day if a leading cigarette company diverted even a small fraction of its annual multi-million-dollar advertising budget to the support of a cheap literary review? That way, the monarchs of commercial propaganda would cry in unison, madness lies; and they would surely be right. Our depleted cultural soil is not one in which *Tobacco Plants* can flourish.

Joel Munsell Prints Lossing's Memorial of Alexander Anderson

By DAVID S. EDELSTEIN

PUBLICATION of Benson J. Lossing's *A Memorial of Alexander Anderson, M.D., the First Engraver in Wood in America* (1872) served in a unique way to bring together four of the most prominent figures in the bookmaking industry of the last century: Alexander Anderson, the father of wood engraving in the United States; Benson J. Lossing, the noted engraver and historian; Evert A. Duyckinck, distinguished editor and publisher; and Joel Munsell, the famous Albany printer and antiquarian.* A study of the archives of The New-York Historical Society reveals for the first time some of the intimate details of the trials and tribulations involved in bringing the work to its completion.

Lossing arrived in New York in 1836 to practise the art of wood engraving. By that time, Dr. Alexander Anderson had long been regarded as the leading exponent in America of this skill which previously had been revived in England by Thomas Bewick. Anderson's work had been used by the city's leading publishers, including Evert A. Duyckinck. In fact, so greatly had the demand for engravings increased, that by the '40's and '50's commercial engraving companies had been organized by such enterprising men as Benson J. Lossing. Wood engraving as a separate profession waned. Dr. Anderson, however, continued to work in his own shop on an independent basis. Occasionally

* Cf. David S. Edelstein, *Joel Munsell: Printer and Antiquarian* (New York, Columbia University Press, 1950). *Editor*.

special orders were executed for Lossing by the now venerable artist.¹

After a career as a wood engraver that stretched over more than three-quarters of a century, Anderson died on January 17, 1870, in his ninety-fifth year. On February 1, 1870, the Executive Committee of The New-York Historical Society, at a meeting held in its library, resolved to invite Lossing to read a paper on "The Life of the Late Dr. Alexander Anderson and the History of Wood Engraving in this Country." The choice of speaker was particularly fortunate. Not only was he a well-known engraver, but by this time, he had already risen to a prominent place in American historiography. Lossing had known Anderson through business associations. His admiration for the latter had led to his persuading Anderson to sit for a daguerreotype. Lossing had then coaxed the modest Anderson to engrave his own image from the picture. The engraving was used later by Lossing to illustrate an article he had written about Anderson for an English art journal.

To prepare for his paper, Lossing now sought for further materials by interviewing Mrs. Lewis, the daughter with whom Anderson spent his declining years, and her son. Duyckinck was called upon to furnish notices of early booksellers and for copies of Alexander's engravings. Lossing spent some time in careful preparation, and it was not until October 5, 1870, that his completed paper was read before The New-York Historical Society. At the conclusion of the reading, the Society voted its thanks and requested a copy for its archives.

The Society for many years had been receiving donations and exchanging books with Joel Munsell, as well as giving him orders for printing. As early as August 24, 1850, Munsell was corresponding with George H. Moore, Librarian of the Society.²

¹ Helen M. Knubel, "Alexander Anderson and Early American Book Illustration" in: *Princeton University Library Chronicle*, I: 3, pp. 9-18, April, 1940.

² Correspondence of Joel Munsell with The New-York Historical Society in the Society's Correspondence from 1850-1874.

Munsell had previously had an exchange account with Moore's father. When the Society decided to print Lossing's Memorial on a subscription basis, it was not strange that Munsell was chosen as printer. The latter's interest in the history of his craft and his reputation as a fine craftsman were added qualifications. Munsell's own specimen book of engravings, used in his plant, bore testimony to his ability to reproduce them.

A little over a year elapsed after the reading of the Memorial before Munsell received the commission to print the work. On December 16, 1871, he wrote Moore acknowledging receipt of the copy and promising to print the work in the same type size used in the Society's Historical Collections. During the preceding year, the Society was probably engaged in getting up a list of subscribers sufficient in number to make the project feasible. No doubt there were also negotiations with Munsell regarding price, quantity, format, etc., but the letters Munsell wrote in answer to Moore's questions were not kept.

Munsell set to work promptly. On February 20, 1872, he wrote Moore that he had "got last proof back from Bro[ther] Lossing of first 48 pp. and have put them to press. Guess we've been 2 mo. on them. Hope to make better speed with the remainder." His hopes proved unfounded. He was constantly plagued in his printing and publishing efforts by the failure of authors to send copy or revised proof back to him promptly. The difficulty was all the more increased by the fact that his authors and patrons were far removed from Albany. In letter after letter he had occasion to urge authors living in Boston, New York, Washington, and as far south as Georgia and Mississippi to be more prompt in returning proof.

The Lossing Memorial was no exception to what must have seemed to Munsell to be one of the chief devilments of his printing business. On June 5, 1872, he was writing Moore that he had received back from Duyckinck the proof of the index and a list of engravings. By this time, Munsell added plaintively, the

work had been at rest so long that he had forgotten if anything further were to be added. This letter attests, incidentally, to the fact that Duyckinck not only furnished many of the illustrations but also took an active part in preparing the work for publication. Only five days later, Munsell again wrote to Moore. "Mr. D[uyckinck] sent proof of plates and index back and it was printed. Title page absent. The work suffers from lying so long, and if the plates etc can be expedited, please to give them an impetus, and have title sheet returned. Are there any pages to be reprinted? If so can we not take them up? I inquire because I have a *notion* some change of woodcuts was contemplated."

Correspondence between Albany and New York continued. On July 3, 1872, Munsell again wrote Moore:

My Dear Sir,

This day's mail bro't the long absent proofs but I return revise hastily taken, as we shut down for the week, and it is so hot everyone here is melted. I trust we shall get it back this coming week, and be enabled to put it to press. Is there anything to be reprinted? I have lost the run of the work in the lapse of months. I suppose however that everything is printed but the title sheet, and that when *it* goes to press, we are able to gather up and send down the work unbound, when my work is done. I want a copy of the work when you issue it—that is to be regarded as a subscriber.

Very truly yrs

J. Munsell

The perplexing title-page was actually printed in proof that day, since Munsell wrote again on the 9th requesting the forwarding of the revise which had not yet been returned. "I reckon we began this campaign in the latter part of last year. The days of the present year are beginning to shorten fast. Life is short—it is said," complains Munsell. "Guess it is," he adds philosophically in smaller script.

The records of the Society are mute for the next six months regarding the publication. In all likelihood, Munsell, who was an inveterate letter writer, had many more occasions to write to Moore in an effort to bring the work to its conclusion. It must

have been with a sense of relief that Munsell sent the following communication to Moore on January 21, 1873: "I have today packed and forwarded your Books, Anderson Memorial, in 2 Boxes as follows:

246 copies perfect

5 wanting plates

1 package oversheets

Scrupulously Munsell added, "I have retained 2 copies for myself @ \$3 each—\$6."

And so, after more than thirteen months of negotiations the brief, 107-page Memorial was completed. Although the title-page bears the date 1872, it was actually finished the following year.

Bibliographical Notes

An Edition of the "Sonetti" by Matteo Franco and Luigi Pulci

Under number 6059 of his *Le livre à figures italien depuis 1467 jusqu'à 1530* (New York, 1941, II: 1037), Max Sander notes an edition of the *Sonetti* by Matteo Franco and Luigi Pulci which he identifies (with such reservation as is implied by a question mark) with Hain-Reichling 7354. A glance at Reichling's description (V: 123) nevertheless indicates with certainty that the edition described by this bibliographer is totally different from the one noted by Sander. Furthermore, there is cited under no. 6059 a book which appeared in Catalogue 44, no. 178, of E. P. Goldschmidt & Co., Ltd., though Sander adds a qualifying "avec quelques variantes." This copy is now in the Pierpont Morgan Library, and since the differences between it and Sander's notation (apparently based on a copy appearing in a Hoepli sale of May, 1925, lot 203) are sufficiently great to necessitate our considering these as separate editions, a full bibliographical description of the edition represented by the Morgan example may usefully be offered here. The description is in the form recommended by the writer.

Franco, Matteo, and Pulci, Luigi.

Sonetti. [Florence: Bartolommeo di Libri] for Piero Pacini, [1497].

4°. 44 leaves. a-e⁸f⁴ (e2 signed c2). 32-35 lines. Type-page (f. 1^v, 33 lines): 159 x 68 mm. Types: 3:114G (title); 1:97R³ (text); 2:114R (some signatures). Woodcut capital on f. 2^r. Two publisher's marks (Husung, nos. 41 and 43).

f. 1: ¶ Sonetti di Missere Mattheo || franco et di Luigi pulci || iocosi et faceti cioe da || ** ridere ** || ** || [Woodcut, Sander figure 507] || 1^v: ¶ Incomiciano esoneti di Misser Mattheo || franco & di Luigi pulci. Parte mandati lu-||no allaltro: & parte mandati a diuerse perso||ne. . . 2-a2: ¶ Messer Mattheo franco a Luigi pulci || (S⁸) Alue se se quel poeta Luigi || . . . 9-b1: Et sai tu bene quandio tisono un succio || . . . (ends 44^v-f4^v, line 21): Esi dicea cosi di fra Christophano || siche un quartuccio non ritorna ilcofano || [colophon] ¶ Finiti isonetti di Messere Mattheo frâco || & di Luigi pulci || [Two publisher's marks of Piero Pacini].

The copy in the Pierpont Morgan Library (*Check List* no. 1134) measures 207 x 135 mm. On the first *old* fly-leaf (now fly-leaf 5) is written

the number: 9306. The British Museum's edition of this work (BMC VI: 655-IA. 27444) appears to be the earlier, as it is printed in type 1:97R in its earliest state, while the present edition is printed in the third state of this type. This state first appeared in use some time after June, 1497 (BMC VI: 646). The British Museum's collation calls for a further quire of six leaves (signature g- wanting in the Museum's copy) which would contain the "Confessione di Luigi Pulci." In the preface to the Morgan copy (f. 1^v, lines 16-20), one reads: "Et che questo sia il uero, leggi la sua confessione . . . laquale confessione sara nel fine di questi soneti." This might suggest that a similar quire is wanting in the present edition, but the presence of Pacini's devices on f. 44^v seems to point to the fact that such a quire was never actually printed, and that the statement on f. 1^v was simply taken over from the earlier edition. The copy described above was acquired by the Pierpont Morgan Library in February, 1938 (accession number 34692); it is bound in dark brown morocco by Sangorski and Sutcliffe of London.

CURT F. BÜHLER

A Hidden Edition of Whitehead's "Variety" (1776)

Though suggestively sub-titled "A Tale for Married People," William Whitehead's *Variety* is admittedly of little interest nowadays except to the ever-inquisitive bibliographer. For him the press figures disclose, at last, the answer to the riddle of the missing "second edition." This is, essentially, a reimpression, exactly like the first edition in its title-page, exactly like the third in its text.

All editions: 4° A-C⁴.

Title Figures			Copies		
[1st]	A4 ^r (i)7	B4 ^r (i)6 B2 ^v (o)7	C1 ^v (i)10	DLC IU MH PU	
[2d]	A4 ^r (i)9	B4 ^r (i)5	C1 ^v (i)10 C2 ^v (o)6	ICU NjP NN	
3rd	A4 ^r (i)6 A4 ^v (o)2	B4 ^r (i)5	C1 ^v (i)10 C2 ^v (o)6	ICN	

The figures which I have italicized (to denote, in number and identical position, a continuous impression) suggest that upon the completion of the first issue—perhaps while the inner forme for C was still at press—the rapid sale of copies warranted an immediate reimpression. This was effected by resetting the distributed type for pages 4, 5, and 11, and then reassigning the formes to the four men employed to work the concealed "second edition." All but number 9 then overprinted the B and C formes

of this issue in anticipation of another subsequently called the "third." Apparently this differs from its predecessor only in its designation and in the press figures for the initial gathering.

WILLIAM B. TODD

Two Problems in A. E. Housman Bibliography

In assembling data for the completion of my definitive bibliography of A. E. Housman, on which I have been working since 1937, I have encountered two problems: (1) the inclusion of spurious or doubtful items, and (2) list of books from Housman's library containing marginalia.

An example of the first problem is *Two Cities*:

TWO CITIES |.

Collation: [1]-[14], as follows: [1] blank; [2] ornament (flower); [3] blank; [4] illustration pasted on page (woodcut, signed in pencil: ΦΥΛΛΙΣ); [5]-[12] text; [13] illustration pasted on page (woodcut, signed in pencil: ΦΥΛΛΙΣ); [14] colophon note: PRINTED AND PUBLISHED | FOR THE AUTHOR | AT THE ASPHODEL PRESS | XVIII WELL WALK HAMPSTEAD | THE TWELFTH DAY OF JUNE MCMIV | THE WOOD CUTS ARE FROM | PHOTOGRAPHS | THE FIRST SHEWS EDESSA | THE SECOND MERV |.

Issued, stitched, in light brown wrappers. Printed on front cover: TWO CITIES |. On back cover: decoration (flower). There is no title-page. Handmade paper. All edges trimmed. The leaves measure 22.8 by 14.5 cms.

This prose-tale has appeared at least twice in catalogues under the name of A. E. Housman, but there is absolutely no other evidence that he is the author. Neither Laurence Housman, A. S. F. Gow, Grant Richards, John Carter, nor anyone else whom I have read on A.E.H. has mentioned such a work. I should therefore be interested to receive evidence to support its authenticity.

The other problem is more complicated. In the interest of completeness, many full-dress bibliographies include unpublished, unlisted, and uncollected literary products by their authors. In Housman's case, poems (some fragmentary), letters, and marginalia have been published in several journals during the past few years; I have turned up a few myself (see *Notes and Queries*, 181: 301, 29 November 1941; *PMLA*, 58: 584-587, June 1943; *Review of English Studies*, 24: 240-241, July 1948; etc.). Although these and others will be duly recorded, what of such as the following:

New Bearings in English Poetry: A Study of the Contemporary Situation

[by] F. R. Leavis (London: Chatto & Windus, 1932). This book contains three marginalia in Housman's hand: p. 11, opposite Leavis's comment that Andrew Lang's sonnet "The Odyssey" (in the *Oxford Book of Poetry*) has "about the whole thing an atmosphere such as we have learnt to associate with the 'nineties,'" Housman writes, "no: the eighties"; p. 12, on the same poem, Leavis writes, "And when Lang wishes to escape from 'the music of the languid hours' into the 'larger air' of 'a western beach' he naturally has recourse to Matthew Arnold," and Housman asks in the margin, "how?"; p. 24, next to Leavis's "If the Rolls-Royce enters significantly into poetry it will be, perhaps, in some such way as Mr. T. S. Eliot suggests when he says that probably the modern's conception of rhythm has been affected by the internal combustion engine," we have Housman, "which has no rhythm."

M. Tulli Ciceronis: De Imperio Gnaei Pompei Oratio ad Quirites, Pro Lege Manilia, with an Introduction and Notes, edited after Karl Halm, by A. S. Wilkins (London and New York, Macmillan, 1905). This book, probably used as a text in courses Housman taught in University College London or in Cambridge, contains underlined passages, exclamation points, question marks, names (of students?), or marginalia on almost every page. They vary from such remarks as (p. ix, opposite reference to Mithridates VI's "paternal kingdom") "name it," to (p. x, again re Mithridates VI's "second kingdom") "what was the first?", to (p. xvii) "is this 'assistance'?" and (p. xvi) "how so?" and (p. xx) "at what date?"; etc., etc.

These are not in any sense literary products but are rather to give us an index to A. E. Housman's character, and often show the almost pathological insistence on petty details. He apparently never accepted the dictum that "to err is human." However, the problem at the moment is: should such books as *Two Cities*, F. R. Leavis's *New Bearings in English Poetry*, and A. S. Wilkins's edition of *Cicero* be included in a Housman bibliography for the reasons listed above?

WILLIAM WHITE

Henry Lewis in English

In the PAPERS for the third quarter of 1949 (43: 344-45), the writer published a note incorporating an advertisement from the *New York Daily Tribune* of May 17 and 18, 1854, announcing Part 1 of Henry Lewis's book on the Mississippi Valley. It was inserted by a dealer named

**THE VALLEY
OF THE MISSISSIPPI
ILLUSTRATED**

BY A

SERIES OF **80** VIEWS TAKEN ON THE SPOT

EXTENDING FROM

THE GULF OF MEXICO TO THE FALLS OF ST. ANTHONY

A DISTANCE OF 2,300 ENGLISH MILES,

BY

H. LEWIS,

LANDSCAPE PAINTER OF ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI. U. S.

ALSO THE MANNERS, HABITS AND CUSTOMS OF THE NUMEROUS INDIAN TRIBES STILL
FOUND UPON ITS UPPER WATERS.

ACCOMPANIED WITH HISTORICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTIONS IN ENGLISH AND GERMAN.

DUSSELDORF.

ARNZ & COMP.

John Wiley of 167 Broadway. Dr. John Francis McDermott now suggests, in an informing note contributed to the PAPERS for the second quarter of 1951 (45: 152-55), that the advertisement was prompted by the elusive English edition of the Lewis work, no copy of which was known. Proof that Dr. McDermott was correct in his deductions is now at hand. A fragment of the hitherto unidentified English version has been added to the library of the Minnesota Historical Society by Mrs. Esther Sperry, curator of the society's museum, who found the item in New York.

The wording of the English title, as it appears on the opening page of the first signature is with only slight variations like that given in Wiley's advertisement. In full, the title page reads as follows: "The Valley | of the Mississippi | Illustrated | by a | Series of 80 Views Taken on the Spot | Extending from | the Gulf of Mexico to the Falls of St. Anthony | a Distance of 2,300 English Miles, | by H. Lewis, | Landscape Painter of St. Louis, Missouri, U.S. | Also the Manners, Habits and Customs of the Numerous Indian Tribes Still | Found upon its Upper Waters. | Accompanied with Historical and Geographical Descriptions in English and German. | Dusseldorf. | Arnz & Comp. |"

The fragment consists of nine numbered, unsewed and untrimmed signatures. Most of them are uncut, and each contains eight pages, making a total of seventy-two pages. Unfortunately the illustrations are missing. Since there is no evidence of tipping, it is impossible to determine where the lithographs were inserted in the available forms. The imprint appears on two lines—"Dusseldorf. | Arnz & Comp."—just as it does in the German version found in more than a dozen American libraries. A note on the reverse of the English title page states that the English text was "Printed by C. H. Müller at Aix-la-Chapelle," whereas most of the German copies include corresponding statements that read, "Druck von C. H. Müller in Aachen." The fact that the decorative border used with the English text matches that of the German edition is of interest. A comparison reveals that the original English includes much information deleted from the translation.

According to the *Messkatalog* of Avenarius, which Dr. McDermott quotes from a Library of Congress card, at least 136 pages of Lewis' work were printed in English. They appeared in 1854 and 1855 in six parts. Wiley's announcement, it will be recalled, stated that the work would be issued in "monthly numbers" of "from sixteen to twenty-four pages of letterpress each." But instead of twelve, only three parts appeared each year, and this was true both of the German and the English versions. The

72 pages now available represent three sections of 24 pages each printed in 1854. Only 64 pages appeared in 1855. Each of the six parts was accompanied by four lithographs. Until a copy of the annual catalogue published by Avenarius for 1856 has been located, we cannot be certain that the English version concluded with page 136. Unfortunately the Library of Congress file ends with the volume for 1855.

A description of this apparently unique bit of Americana acquired by the Minnesota Historical Society appears with a reproduction of the English title page in the December, 1951, issue of the Society's quarterly, *Minnesota History*. Although the full story of Henry Lewis' book in English is still far from complete, the discovery of this fragment marks another step in the solution of a puzzling bibliographical problem.

BERTHA L. HEILBRON

Three States of "The Revolter"

The anonymous pamphlet, "The Revolter. A Trage-Comedy Acted between the Hind and Panther, and Religio Laici, &c. London, Printed in the Year 1687" is listed in Hugh Macdonald's *John Dryden; a Bibliography of Early Editions and of Drydeniana* (Oxford, The Clarendon Press, 1939), as No. 242. Macdonald notes (p. 254): "I have seen a copy with REVOLTEX in the title." Such a copy is in the Yale University Library, and must be considered as the first state. It is likely that but few copies exist with such an egregious and immediately apparent error; indeed, some of the copies now in this state may have been issued with a slip-cancel, since lost.

An unrecorded second state of the pamphlet is in the Harvard College Library: this state has a slip-cancel letter R pasted down over the letter X. The thumb-print of the corrector who smeared the paste and then affixed the slip-cancel is apparent, and on the verso the covered letter X can be very clearly seen. The state of the show-through indicates that the correction was done soon after the sheet was printed, for the amount of oil-absorption in the paper differs noticeably from that shown by the rest of the title.

Macdonald 242 is therefore the third state of the pamphlet, with the title correctly spelled.

ROBERT F. METZDORF

Book Reviews

GREG, W. W. *A Bibliography of the English Printed Drama to the Restoration*. Volume II. Plays 1617-1689: Nos. 350-836. Latin Plays. Lost Plays. London, Printed for the Bibliographical Society at the University Press, Oxford, 1951. Pp. [i]-xxxiii, 493-1008. Plate LXIV [front.] and LXV-CXIII (at end). 10¾ x 8⅝ inches. (Illustrated monographs, no. XXIV [2]). [Issued to members of the Bibliographical Society as the publication for the years 1948-1950.]

At long last, after an interval of twelve years, there appears the second installment of a great work which, for a time at least, seemed a part of the price that the War had cost us. Sir W. W. Greg's *Bibliography of the English Printed Drama* had its beginnings fully a half century ago in *A List of English Plays Written Before 1643 and Printed Before 1700* (1900), and a supplementary *List of Masques, Pageants, etc.* (1902). These were very useful finding- and check-lists and enumerative bibliographies; the present work, of which Volume I was published in 1939, gives a much fuller descriptive account, and when its third and completing volume makes its appearance, the three together will constitute one of the truly monumental contributions to English scholarship.

Here is descriptive bibliography at its best. A careful transcription of each title-page is followed by a collation of the make-up of the book, a selection of catchwords, and a "description," i.e., certain features of a more literary than a bibliographical nature—(1) whether the play is in verse or prose, (2) whether it is divided into acts and scenes, (3) whether it includes a prologue, epilogue, or similar adjuncts, and (4) whether the scene of the action is specified. Then, usually, there are a few "notes" on bibliographical points, such as peculiarities of typographical arrangement, and the like. Except rarely, no attempt has been made to record textual variations between different copies, or the derivation of editions from one another, and only the more salient facts of literary revision or alteration between editions find record. Not the least useful feature of the bibliography is a list of extant copies (which is not intended to be complete) in various European and American libraries.

Volume I of Sir Walter's *Bibliography*, which described 349 dramatic works, brought the record down to the close of 1616, the year of Shakespeare's death and of the publication of the *Works* of Ben Jonson, the earliest of the collected editions. Volume II now describes 487 additional English works, plus 23 in Latin, and 187 Lost Plays, i.e., plays for the former printing of which there is evidence, however slight, but of which no early edition is now known. Some of these, to be sure, are not wholly "lost" but survive in manuscript. Thus, the present volume completes the descriptions of "all editions down to 1700 of all [single] dramatic compositions which were either written before the end of 1642 (the year of the closing of the theatres on 2 September) or printed before the beginning of 1660 (the year of the Restoration on 8 May)." A third volume, for which the materials are already gathered and in order, will contain descriptions of collected editions of plays, several indices, a table of authors, and, even more important, several appendices, as explained in the preface of Volume I, with "reprints of the more important prefaces and the like that throw light on the circumstances of composition, production, or publication, the rather scanty actor-lists found in early editions, and publishers' advertisements; they will also deal in some manner with the play lists issued by early booksellers [like the lists of plays entered in the Stationers' Register to Humphrey Moseley (1646, 1653, and 1660), the catalogues or advertisements of Richard Rogers and William Ley or Lee (1656), Edward Archer (1656), and others], and the catalogues of early dramatic collections" (such as those of Sir John Harington, Abraham Hill, and John Warburton) as well as a General Introduction to supplant the editor's "Provisional Memoranda" now supplied, and explain more fully the plan of the work and his methods of achieving it.

The pagination of the present volume is continuous with that of Volume I, a fact which may trouble some, particularly since there is a third volume to come.

"First editions are rare," once remarked Christopher Morley, "but twenty-first editions are rarer." None of the plays listed by Sir Walter attained such dizzy heights of popularity; those which went into as many as ten editions in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are uncommon. Some interesting but hardly reliable speculations about literary taste and general popularity of plays as reading matter might be based on statistics. Of the plays listed in this volume only five attained ten editions: *The Maid's Tragedy*, *Philaster*, *Othello*, *Julius Caesar*, and Thomas Randolph's

Aristippus, though four of the reprints of the Shakespearean titles are in collections, as are four of those of *Aristippus*. No play listed in Volume II is so often reprinted as some in Volume I; *Mucedorus*, with 17 editions, heads the list, followed by 1 *Henry IV*, *Hamlet*, and Beaumont and Fletcher's *The Scornful Ladie*, with 13 each, though of the Shakespearean titles four reprints are in collections; *Richard III*, with 12, four in collections; Samuel Daniel's *Tragedie of Cleopatra*, with 11, ten, however, in collections of Daniel's works; and *The Spanish Tragedy*, *Richard II*, and *Doctor Faustus*, with 10 each, the Shakespearean play having appeared four times in collections. It is pleasant to find six Shakespearean plays so high up in the list, but more sobering to reflect that of the 20 plays first printed from an authentic text in the First Folio of 1623, 17 were still accessible only in collected editions in 1700, only *The Taming of the Shrew*, *Julius Caesar*, and *Macbeth* having appeared in "good" texts subsequent to 1623. Outside the folios of 1623, 1632, 1663-4, 1685, *Henry V* still existed only in a "bad" quarto last reprinted in 1619, as did *The Contention of York and Lancaster* and *The True Tragedy of Richard Duke of Yorke* (2 and 3 *Henry VI*). But, even so, the record is extraordinary.

It is too much, of course, in these times of austerity and mounting costs to expect no deterioration from the high quality of paper and binding associated with the publications of the Bibliographical Society. Regrettably, the stock used in Volume II is inferior to that of Volume I, cotton has replaced linen in the casing, and there is no gilt top edge. But, withal, it is gratifying to report that there has been no deterioration in the presswork, and heartiest congratulations are due the Society for having been able to do so well. With no little impatience we now await Sir Walter's Volume III.

KARL J. HOLZKNECHT

CLIFFORD, JAMES L. *Johnsonian Studies, 1887-1950; a Survey and Bibliography*. Minneapolis, Minnesota, University of Minnesota Press, 1951. xii, 140 pp. 9 x 6 inches. \$3.00.

What has been written on the subject of Samuel Johnson constitutes in itself a vast literature. It forms a mass of material for which there has been no adequate guide until the recent publication of James L. Clifford's *Johnsonian Studies*, a book that performs the needed service for the years 1887-1950. Certain commentary prior to the first date is included but no

attempt is made at completeness for the earlier period; the record begins ostensibly at 1887. If an initial date for modern Johnsonian studies is to be determined, it is unquestionably the one chosen, the year in which George Birkbeck Hill's great edition of *The Life of Johnson* appeared. In view of this it is perhaps ungrateful to demand that the first hundred years of literature concerning Johnson also be covered fully, but for the benefit of the scholar the guidebook should be complete, and no Johnsonian is better qualified, if he is willing, to fill in the earlier period than Dr. Clifford.

Even within the limits of 1887-1950 Dr. Clifford has been oppressed by the enormous quantity of material, with the result that he has made his bibliography a selective one, omitting many short articles and notes, and including only those which in his opinion are useful, in that they add to the knowledge and interpretation of Johnson and his works.

Dr. Clifford has, however, endeavoured to list every separately printed book and pamphlet, and has diligently pursued the difficult task of tracking down private printings and scappiana in remote and widespread collections. The location and recording of these bits, some of small value but others of considerable importance as the listing reveals, demand imagination, patience, and enthusiasm, all qualities which the compiler possesses in high measure.

The conception of his check list is excellent. Under the broad headings of general bibliography and bibliography of specific works, a particular number is assigned to each item which facilitates reference. The explanation in square brackets of the subject material dealt with under obscure titles is helpful, as is the indication under an item of articles or books on the same subject to be found elsewhere. It is unfortunate, since the bibliography is essentially a tool, that the index is not fuller; only proper names 1887-1950 are given, titles of articles and books are omitted, as are eighteenth century persons, and general classifications by subject. A more informative running page headline would also be of assistance.

The author is fully aware of the dangers in making his selective check list the more selective by starring particularly useful items on the basis of new discoveries, new critical approaches, and sound historical summations or literary evaluations. In most instances his appraisals are acceptable, but in certain of them there is justification for disagreement both on the counts of selection and omission. Despite these objections, however, the starring device has validity, it gives the benefit of a distinguished scholar's

opinion, greatly aids the student, and even for the specialist, if he disagrees, it offers the healthy excitement of dispute.

Certain interesting points emerge from an examination of the starred items, about two hundred out of some two thousand entries. In two sections there are no starred items, Fiction and Editions of Johnson's Works. The latter omission reflects the author's opinion, stated in the preliminary essay, that much work is needed in the field of editing. In the section devoted to Biography it is interesting to find Macaulay's "Life of Johnson" without an asterisk. By far the longest and most heavily starred section is devoted to General and Miscellaneous References. This listing, besides serving as a repository for material otherwise hard to classify, indicates the author's point, also given in the preliminary essay, that the greatest interest in Johnson until recently has been in the interpretation of the man. An incidental note is the starring of several doctoral dissertations, one unpublished, certain others published only in excerpt.

Though the bibliography in Dr. Clifford's *Johnsonian Studies* is rightfully dedicated to the researcher, critic, and collector, the introductory "Survey of Johnsonian Studies" is appealing to any Johnsonian enthusiast. The essay is one of the soundest, most graphic, and most enjoyable interpretations of the changing attitude toward Johnson since 1887, and the changing emphasis in scholarship. Dr. Clifford has made a valuable contribution; his volume should itself be starred as indispensable to all with an interest in the subject.

MARY C. HYDE

WILKINS, ERNEST HATCH. *The Making of the "Canzoniere" and other Petrarchan Studies*. Rome, Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1951. xxvii, 423 pp. 10 x 6¾ inches. Lire 3700. 700 copies.

The amazingly active pen of the President Emeritus of Oberlin College has been busy again. This time Professor Wilkins presents us with a thick volume containing 26 separate studies of varying length. Six of these chapters were specially written for this book; the substance of the remaining essays had previously appeared in print. One says "substance" since all the essays have been reworked to fit them into this composite volume; only six contain no statement as to the nature of the alteration. Four papers bear the notice "somewhat revised" and a similar number, we are told, have been "slightly revised"; three studies have been extensively redone.

The nature of the volume has permitted the Petrarchan studies of Professor Wilkins to be grouped into four sub-divisions, which may be defined as: Biographical Notes on Petrarch (Chapters I-III), The Making of the *Canzoniere* (IV-IX), Discussions of Particular Manuscripts or Groups of MSS. (X-XVI), and Miscellaneous Essays (XVII-XXVI). The last group contains two further special divisions: Studies in Chronology (XX-XXIII) and Bibliographica (XXIV-XXVI). Naturally the last three chapters will be of greatest interest to the disciples of the junior branch of bibliography, while the practitioner of the senior science (the "Handschriftenforscher") will delight in the meticulous analyses of Petrarchan manuscripts and in the infinite variety of knowledge to be gleaned from a study of such volumes. And how wonderful and satisfactory it must be for the student of the first humanist that an autograph manuscript of the *Canzoniere* and part of a collection of preparatory sheets, also in Petrarch's hand, have survived to our day!

The present book is a work of solid worth for everyone interested in the Italian Renaissance. This was naturally to be expected from the Dean of American students of Petrarch; consequently, it is not surprising that the present reviewer can do no more than offer a few comments and supply a few supplementary details. On page 404, Professor Wilkins states that no copy of the second edition of the *Trionfi* (Parma: Portilia, 6 March 1473) was to be found in America. While this was probably perfectly correct in 1942 (when the paper was first printed), a copy did reach this country subsequently and appears in the H. P. Kraus Catalogue 44 (February, 1948), no. 149; under no. 148 of the same catalogue, there is listed a manuscript of the same text which also seems to have escaped Wilkins' list of Petrarch MSS. in the United States (Chapter XII). For a bibliographer, it is disconcerting to find the familiar "Essling" cited as "Masséna"—disconcerting it may be but certainly not incorrect, to find Essling cited by the family name rather than by that of his title.

In Chapter XXIV, the affiliation of the fifteenth-century editions of the *Canzoniere e trionfi* is set forth in detail, and Professor Wilkins is able to distinguish four distinct "families" into which the twenty-five extant editions fall. This is, perhaps, the most rewarding essay in the volume for the bibliographer, and the present reviewer is in the happy position of being able to supply two bits of supplementary evidence to support beliefs set forth by Professor Wilkins.

For edition X of the *Canzoniere* (Naples: Arnoldus de Bruxella, 1477), Professor Wilkins failed to cite (on p. 384) the best bibliographical description, that given by Mariano Fava and Giovanni Bresciano, *La stampa a Napoli nel XV secolo*, Leipzig, 1911-12, II, 83-85, no. 97. This reference work supplies the collation [1¹⁰ 2-21⁸ 22¹⁰] with the *Trionfi* beginning on folio 140, following the blank folio 139 [sig. 18₁]. This strongly supports Professor Wilkins' surmise that Arnoldus de Bruxella so arranged his edition that he could either sell the *Canzoniere* and *Trionfi* as a single work or offer them separately, even though the Registrum covers the entire volume. As Wilkins rightly observes (p. 385): "The inclusive register might have been added at the end of the second volume even if the two volumes were available separately." In point of fact, one copy at Naples (XI. G. 23) contains only the *Trionfi*, while this section is wanting in the example at Vienna (26. F. 31).

Again, Professor Wilkins gives very excellent reasons (pp. 390-392) for presuming that the edition of the *Trionfi* printed at Venice by Peregrinus de Pasqualibus and Dominicus Bertochus and dated 8 April 1488 (*Second Census* P343) was actually completed two years earlier (8 April 1486). Documentary evidence bears out Wilkins' theory completely, for both Dionysius and Dominicus Bertochus were domiciled in Bologna by October 1486; while the former returned to Venice late in 1489, Dominicus never again seems to have worked in the Republic (cf. Albano Sorbelli, *Storia della stampa in Bologna*, Bologna, 1929, pp. 29-31). The date in the *Second Census* and in the *Morgan Check List of Fifteenth Century Printing* (1939, no. 921) thereby requires correction.

Finally, for the charlatans and philistines of the scholarly world who view the collecting of "rare books" as nothing other than a curious aberration, one would heartily recommend to them that they read with care Professor Wilkins' views on the scholarly value of the "*editio princeps*" (pp. 400-401).

The book under review, then, is a most welcome contribution not only to Petrarchan scholarship but also for the student of either branch—or, indeed, of both branches—of bibliography. It is quite unnecessary to add, I expect, that the book will surely find its way into the private library of many a scholar; it will certainly be found in every reference library worthy of the name.

CURT F. BÜHLER

BENGTSSON, BENGT. *Det äldre förlagsbandet; studier över svenskt bokbinderi under 1800-tal jämte en kort biografi över Alfred Lundin*. Stockholm, Alfr. Lundins Bokbinderiaktiebolag, 1949. [157] pp., illus., plates, facsimis. 7¼ x 4½ inches.

Although various aspects of edition binding can probably be traced back to Aldus Manutius or even earlier, it was not put on a large-scale production basis until the nineteenth century. Depending heavily on the important collection of bindings and binders' instruments in the Nordiska Museum in Stockholm, Bengtsson outlines the history of the forwarding and finishing techniques of the modern Swedish publishers' binding. He describes the revival of the late mediaeval panel stamp in eighteenth-century Sweden for quantity binding of psalm books and the subsequent development of a device for stamping front and back covers and the spine in a single series of operations. Sven Erland Björkman secured a patent for it in 1832, and the original press is preserved in the Nordiska Museum. Bengtsson also notes the beginning of the general use of printed wrappers in Sweden contemporaneously with similar developments elsewhere in Europe.

But the real impetus to edition binding in the modern sense came to Sweden, just as to the rest of Europe, from England where William Pickering had begun to bind his "Oxford Classics" in cloth in or about the year 1825. Bengtsson is unable to identify the first Swedish books bound in cloth after the English models, but he does find a few examples in the 1830's. Thereafter, cloth bindings became the order of the day among Swedish publishers.

Issued as a gift book by the well-known binding firm of Alfred Lundin, the appendix (pp. 129-152) contains a sketch of the founder, Alfred Axel Werner Lundin (1841-1902), and the business he built.

LAWRENCE S. THOMPSON

RITZER, WALTER. *Rainer Maria Rilke Bibliographie*. Wien, O. Kerry Verlag; New York, W. S. Heinman, 1951. xvi, 328 pp. 9½ x 6½ inches. \$6.00.

The literature concerning Rainer Maria Rilke has grown to such tremendous proportions in the past few years that every attempt to create order in this chaos and to establish a reliable and comprehensive reference book is certainly to be warmly greeted by the author's friends and readers. Walter Ritzer's work, which appeared in the spring of 1951, fills a long-existing gap and offers an abundance of worthwhile material, particularly since Rilke's work itself as well as the critical and biographical literature has been included.

Part I is concerned with Rilke's writings and gives a faithful description of all editions from the scattered first printings to publications from the literary remains (*i.e.*, collected works, selections, partial collections, single writings, translations, French poems, collected letters, independent writings in foreign languages, an index of the works, and an index of the editions of collected works).

Part II treats the critical literature. The author used the national bibliographies of the European and American book trade as well as the catalogues of the great national libraries of the world. Periodicals in the field of Germanica and the *International Index to Periodical Literature* were reviewed systematically for supplementary material. Brief notes in histories of literature were not taken into account. The bibliography presents an important expansion of the Rilke bibliography, *Das Werk des Lebenden*, edited by Fritz Adolph Hünich and published by the Inselverlag in Leipzig in 1926. The author began his work in the fall of 1948 and completed it in February, 1951, working chiefly in the Austrian National Library in Vienna, which is similar in character to the Deutsche Bücherei in Leipzig. The arrangement of the critical writings is as follows: literary-historical classification, monographs, special articles, commemorative speeches, encounters and reminiscences, general essays in chronological order from 1900 to 1950, special articles in the form of an index of keywords.

Although the author did have the assistance of two Rilke specialists living in America, such important bibliographical aids as the index of *Doctoral Dissertations Accepted by American Universities*, edited by Arnold H. Trotier, of which seventeen volumes have appeared up until the present time in New York, as well as the annual bibliography in the *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America (PMLA)*, appear to have remained unknown to him. The Rilke bibliography in Josef Körner's *Bib-*

liographisches Handbuch des Deutschen Schrifttums (Bern, A. Francke Verlag, 1949), third edition, pp. 487-490, is also not mentioned.

A number of inaccuracies and inconsistencies could easily have been avoided. In the foreword the author explains categorically that articles in encyclopedias are not considered in the text. However, when he lists, nevertheless, Vincenzo Errante's contribution in the *Enciclopedia Italiana* (Rome, 1936) (K 24), it is permissible to wonder why the article by Robert Rie in the new edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* is not listed. The Swiss author Jean Gebser is called Juan throughout. And why, in K 621, the name of Hans Georg Brenner, author of the easily accessible article "Und wer ist denn dieser Rilke?", which appeared in *Die Woche* in 1944, is not disclosed is also difficult to understand.

All this, however, seems of little importance compared to the deplorable number of omissions which immediately strikes anyone acquainted, to even a slight extent, with the field of research on Rilke. Rilke's letters to Kurt Wolff, the publisher, published for the first time, with an excellent commentary, by Curt von Faber du Faur in the January 1950 issue of the *Yale University Library Gazette* (XXIII: 114-128) are missing. The text of the *Igorlied*, translated by Rilke into German during his stay in Rome in 1904, first published in its completed form with introduction and notes by André von Gronicka in the *Memoirs of the American Folklore Society* for 1947 (XLIII: 179-202) is not mentioned. The number of omissions in the area of critical literature mounts into the hundreds. A few of the more important works are classified below according to types.

I. Books about Rilke

Caparelli, P. A. *Motivi della lirica di Rilke* (Milan, 1939).

Huppelsberg, Ernst Joachim. *Rainer Maria Rilke Biographie* (München, Drei Eichen Verlag, 1949).

Martins, Cristiano. *Rilke* (Belo Horizonte, Minas Gerais, 1949).

Morse, B. J. R. M. *Rilke* (Morrison [England], 1947). 150 copies.

Schnack, Ingeborg. *Erinnerungen Rainer Maria Rilkes an Marburg* (Marburg, Marburger Presse, 1950).

Smoira, I. R. M. *Rilke*. (With Hebrew translations of Rilke's poems). Second edition (Tel Aviv, 1934).

Steffenson, Steffen. *R. M. Rilke* (Copenhagen, Ejnar Munsgaard, 1944).

II. Letters to Rilke

Heise, Lisa. *Briefe einer jungen Frau an Rilke* (Stuttgart, Verlag Günther, 1950).

III. Dissertations: (American)

- McKay, Lewelyn R. *The Problem of Death in the Viennese School as Represented by Schnitzler, Rilke and Hofmannsthal* (Stanford University, 1940).
 Schweizer, Mark. *Rilkes innere Form* (University of Maryland, 1941).
 Roman, Howard E. *Rilke and the Theater* (Harvard, 1943).
 Oliver, Kenneth A. *Rilke's Ideas on Literature and Literary Criticism* (University of Wisconsin, 1947).
 Brewster, R. R. *Optic and Acoustic Elements in the Poetic Works of Rilke* (University of Wisconsin, 1949).
 Schuelke, Gertrude L. *Kierkegaard and Rilke* (Stanford University, 1950).

German

- Herrmann, Rosemarie. *Rilke und der französische Geist* (Tübingen, 1947).
 Steinmetz, R. *Rilkes Schicksalslosigkeit und seine Lehre von Verwandlung ins Unsichtbare* (Berlin, 1948).
 Lange, Hans Joachim. *Rainer Maria Rilkes Florenzer Tagebuch* (Marburg, 1949).
 Poths, Margarete. *Rilkes dichterisches und menschliches Verhältnis zum Mitmenschen* (Frankfurt, 1949).
 Wodtke, Friedrich Wilhelm. *Rilke und Klopstock* (Kiel, 1949).
 Mayer, Gerhart. *Rilke und Kassner* (Marburg, 1950).
 Singer, Herbert. *Rilke und Hölderlin* (Kiel, 1950).
 Vogt, Joachim. *Studien zum Geschichtsverhältnis Rainer Maria Rilkes* (Jena, between 1945 and 1948).

French

- Dosse, Carmelle. *L'Angoisse de l'option pour R. M. Rilke (d'après sa correspondance)*. Madura, Dr. Nobili Press. (Doctorat d'état, thèse complémentaire, L'Université de Paris, 1948).

IV. Periodical Literature (American)

- Paulsen, Wolfgang. "Von Stifter zu Rilke. Zur Geschichte des Individualismus im 19. Jahrhundert. MDU. XXXIII: 77-88 (1941).
 Fuerst, Norbert. "On the Interpretation of Four 'Sonette an Orpheus.'" MDU. XXXVI: 22-30 (1944).
 Fuerst, Norbert. "Malte Laurids Brigge." MDU. XXXVIII: 463-478 (1946).
 Bergholz, Harry. "At Rilke's Grave." MDU. XL: 82-89 (1948).
 Oliver, Kenneth A. "R. M. Rilke's Concept of Literary Art." MDU. XL: 382-390 (1948).
 Baer, Lydia. "A Study of Ernst Wiechert with Special Reference to Jens Peter Jacobsen and Rilke." MLQ. V: 469-480 (1944).

- Peters, H. F. "Zum Erkenntnis-Problem bei Rilke und Nietzsche." *MLQ*. VIII: 472-486 (1947).
- Olbrich, Marshall. "Rilke and the World of Feeling." *QRL*. II: 36-44 (1945).
- Stanford, Derek. "Rilke and his Exclusive Myth." *QRL*. IV: 401-415 (1949).
- Baer, Lydia. "Note on Rilke's Dramas by Howard Roman." *GR*. XIX: 222 (1944).
- Peters, H. F. "The Space Metaphors in Rilke's Poetry." *GR*. XXIV: 124-135 (1949).
- Ascher, Franz. "Von Goethe und Rilke." *GQ*. XX: 227-230 (1947).
- Wunderlich, Eva C. "Rainer Maria Rilkes religiöse Ideen." *GQ*. XXI: 185-195 (1948).
- Reichart, Walter A. "Rilke's Fifth Duino Elegy and Picasso's Les Saltimbanques." *MLN*. LXI: 279-281 (1946).
- Schumann, Detlev W. "Rainer Maria Rilke." *PMLA*. LIV: 877-882 (1939).

Latin American

- Ramos, José Antonio. *R. M. Rilke. Anales, Academia Nacional de Artes y Letras*. Havana, Cuba. Tomo XXI, 1938.
- Saaverda, Yolando Pino. *Personalidad y poesia de R. M. Rilke*. Atenea (Santiago), Sept. 1939, pp. 407-421.

KLAUS W. JONAS

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VOLUME FORTY-FIVE
FIRST QUARTER, 1951

On the Earliest Editions of the "Morgante" of Luigi Pulci

ERNEST H. WILKINS

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Mainly of the 17th and 18th Centuries"*

ALLAN H. STEVENSON

Dr. Lardner's "Cabinet Cyclopaedia"

MORSE PECKHAM

The Making of the "Short-Title Catalogue, 1641-1700"

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Bibliographical Notes

Book Reviews

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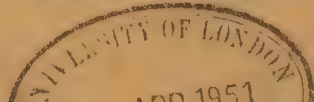
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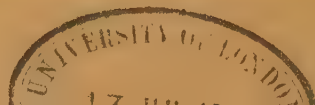
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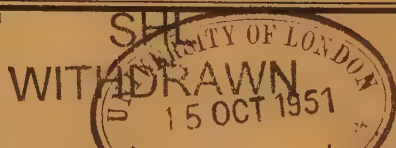
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